

POL 27 - 14 BIAFRA - NIGERIA
12/1/69

STATE DEPARTMENT SYSTEMATIC REVIEW
☐ Retain class'n ☐ Change/classify to _____
☒ Declassify _____
EO 12958, 25X _____ Date: 3/18/96
FPC/HDR by SC _____

Withdrawal No. _____

0450

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 954/503
By MN NARA Date 10/3/05

EXDIS
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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-
Department of State
NIGERIA TELEGRAM

SECRET 744

ACTION COPY

PAGE 01 LONDON 10412 311708Z

47
ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 /046 W

R 311519Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4992

SECRET LONDON 10412

EXDIS

SUBJECT: NIGERIA/BIAFRA

REF: SECSTATE 213246

1. EMBOFF DISCUSSED PROPOSALS REFTEL WITH FCO ASSISTANT UNDER SECRETARY D.C. TEBBIT TODAY. TEBBIT WAS DELIGHTED AT PROSPECT OF MEETING WITH FERGUSON AND BRUBECK BUT EXPRESSED HMG CONCERN AT MEANS PROPOSED TO LAUNCH SIR ARTHUR LEWIS INTO NEGOTIATION CIRCUIT.

2. TEBBIT SAID HE AND JUNIOR MINISTER MAURICE FOLEY PLAN ATTEND CAMEROON INDEPENDENCE CELEBRATION LEAVING LONDON JAN. 9, THEREFORE, WOULD APPRECIATE JAN. 8 DATE FOR SUBSTANTIVE MEETING WITH FERGUSON/BRUBECK. TEBBIT SAID THIS TIMING HAS BEEN PROPOSED TO AMB. FREEMAN WHO CAN ARRANGE TO BE IN LONDON THEN. IN RESPONSE TO QUERY EMBOFF SAID US WOULD BE REPRESENTED IN YAOUNDE BY ASS'T SECRETARY NEWSOM (STATE 213285). TEBBIT WAS HIGHLY PLEASED WITH THIS AND PROPOSED THAT NEWSOM AND FOLEY GET TOGETHER FOR DISCUSSIONS "AT SOME TIME DURING CELEBRATION". TEBBIT ADDED PLANS ALSO ARE UNDER WAY FOR FOLEY TO MEET PRIVATELY WITH ARIKPO AND U THANT IN YAOUNDE.

3. TEBBIT SAID HMG CONTINUE HIGHLY ENTHUSIASTIC OVER POSSIBLE ROLE FOR LEWIS IN NIGERIA/BIAFRA. HOWEVER, HMG IS CONCERNED THAT CONVOCAION OF ECONOMIC EXPERTS TO DISCUSS REHABILITATION RISKS DESTROYING LEWIS' USEFULNESS. BELIEF HERE IS THAT SUCH MEETING DOOMED TO FAILURE AND WOULD TAR ITS CHAIRMAN WITH SAME BRUSH. USING IT AS AN EXAMPLE ONLY, TEBBIT REFERRED TO EARLIER HMG SCHEME TO ASK PERSONALITY SUCH AS WAYNE FREDERICKS

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LONDON 10412 311708Z

TO VISIT BOTH SIDES IN SEARCH FOR COMMON POINTS OF AGREEMENT. THIS IDEA CALLS FOR NO INPUT FROM EITHER SIDE IN CONFLICT. THUS NEITHER COULD DESTROY THE INITIATIVE BY FAILURE TO ACT. TEBBIT POINTED OUT CURRENT PROPOSAL RELIES ON WILLINGNESS BOTH SIDES TO DISCUSS ISSUE OF RELIEF AND REHABILITATION. SINCE BIAFRANS REMAIN MUCH MORE ANXIOUS TO TALK ABOUT SECURITY AND INDEPENDENCE THAN RELIEF AND REHABILITATION, LEWIS WOULD PROBABLY BE CHAIRMAN OF A NON-MEETING AND HIS VALUE WOULD BE SPENT BEFORE IT COULD BE USED. TEBBIT SAYS THAT HMG ALSO WONDERS WHETHER WORLD BANK WOULD BE WILLING SEND REPRESENTATIVE TO NEGOTIATE BETWEEN A MEMBER STATE AND ITS REBELLIOUS SECTOR.

4. TEBBIT STRESSED THAT HMG REACTION IS NOT NEGATIVE BUT THAT ABOVE POINTS MUST BE CONSIDERED CAREFULLY BEFORE EMBARKING ON PROPOSED COURSE OF ACTION. HE SAID HE AND FOLEY "WILL BE CONVINCED GLADLY" OF ANY PLAN WHICH HAS REAL PROMISE OF ENDING CONFLICT AND AGAIN STRESSED HIS BELIEF THAT JAN. 8 MEETING WOULD BE HIGHLY VALUABLE.
WUGHES

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Classification	SECRET	S/S 9	
Post	LONDON	S/S - Screener 43-45	Dpty
Serial No.	10412	S/S-S-CMS 46	
Date	December 31, 1969	S/S-O 11	Dpty
PRINCIPALS			
S	✓ 4	AF	✓ 18-19
U	✓ 5	ANA	
J	✓ 6	EA	
D	✓ 10	EUR	
O		NEA	
C	✓ 7	OTHER AGENCIES	
S/CPK		White House	✓ 2-3
S/PC	✓ 12-13	Vice President	
S/PRS		Defense	✓ 20
U/CF	✓ 14	State Rep	✓ 21
U/PW		CIA	✓ 22
FUNCTIONAL BUREAUS			
A		ACDA	
DG		AID	✓ 23-24
E		AID/VN	
H		USIA	
INR	✓ 15-16	NSA	
IO		Treasury	
L	✓ 17		
P		OTHER	
PM			
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THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

DMR FILES

Attention Mr. Mullah
Keep this study together.
NB

December 31, 1969

SECRET

Dear Bill:

Your NODIS telegram #10777 conveyed the impatience of Eddy Enahoro toward our approach to the FMG on the Addis talks.

I can appreciate pressures under which the Nigerian officials are operating and their undoubted frustration over the prolongation of the war. Nevertheless, I am concerned, as are others in the Government, at this reaction to an approach on a vital matter in which we were involved partly because of encouragement I received from Arikpo. I had hoped you and the members of your staff would find occasion when such expressions arise to clarify our interest.

Whatever may be the attitude of the Africans, the human tragedy of the civil war has had a profound effect upon important elements of our society. We have expended more than \$70 million on relief and anticipate continuing expenditures on relief and rehabilitation.

Recognizing, however, that relief is only a temporary measure and that the problem will not end until peace comes we have more and more moved in the direction of doing what we can on the political side. We have done this in consultation with the FMG and certainly in the case of the approach to the French with their encouragement.

The humanitarian sympathies in this country have brought very real pressures for us to do more for Biafra and to ignore Nigerian sovereignty in doing so. We have resolutely resisted these pressures and have continued to

recognize

The Honorable
William C. Trueheart
American Ambassador
Lagos

①
MICROFILMED
BY S/S: CMS

AF: JJ Newson

SECRET

POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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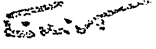
recognize the FMG. Even though we may not be a military supplier, we feel a certain right to normal consultations with the FMG because of our many other relationships.

The mix-up in Addis was a matter of deep concern in Washington. We had encouraged the French to encourage the Biafrans to go to Addis, which they did. We feel quite certain that the Nigerians knew of the December 15 date in Addis. To inquire about the circumstances was an appropriate part of our diplomatic exchange.

It may be that more time has now passed than would warrant a direct reply to Enahoro's approach. I do not feel, however, that we should in the case of subsequent comments of this kind neglect the opportunity to express our view that our continuing exchanges in matters related to the war are appropriate in view of our relationship to the conflict and the concern in the U.S. and are in fact equally important to the Federal Military Government in the preservation of its own position and posture in this country.

With kindest regards.

Sincerely,


Elliot L. Richardson

AF:DDNewsom:smf 12/30/69 SECRET

0455

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By	MW
DATE	10/3/00

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SECRET
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TELEGRAM

POL 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria

~~213246~~
213246

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30 DEC 69 14 22Z

~~30 DEC 69 14 22Z~~

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: AMEMBASSY LONDON ~~XXXXXXXX~~ IMMEDIATE

INFO: AMEMBASSY LAGOS ~~XXXXXXXX~~ IMMEDIATE

STATE:

SUBJECT: NIGERIA/BIAFRA

EXDIS

1. Assistant Secretary Newsom and Brubeck met with UK Ambassador Freeman and Emboff Urwick today on following.
2. Assistant Secretary Newsom recalled previous conversations with British about possible usefulness of discreet mediator in Nigerian War, and discussion of Sir Arthur Lewis in this context. He told Freeman that we had talked with Lewis who is very interested in calling private conference of important economists from Nigeria and Biafra (probably in Europe or US) to discuss future economic problems in non-political context. Tentative thought is that World Bank or similar organization might serve as sponsor and Lewis would write Awolowo and Okigbo proposing project, and inviting them join with ^{him} ~~xxxx~~ in selecting about four from each side for meeting to take place early spring. In arranging conference, Lewis would probably make trip to Lagos and Owerri. While he considers project useful on its merits, further thought is it might be first step toward Lewis

DRAFTED BY: <i>W. H. Brubeck</i>	DRAFTING DATE: 12/29/69	TEL. EXT.: 23406	APPROVED BY: U - Mr. Richardson XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
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CLEARANCES:

U/CF - Amb. Ferguson (in substance)

AF - Mr. Newsom

S/S - Mr. Brown

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FORM DS-322
4-68

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ACTION: AMEMBASSY LONDON ~~XXXXXXXX~~ - Page 2

working into intermediary role at later stage.

3. While indicating he uninstructed, Freeman familiar with past conversations this subject, said London had been thinking along similar lines and he personally thought Sir Arthur excellent choice. Newsom suggested that if British find project promising and specifically think Bank most useful sponsor, they might wish approach Bank President McNamara. He said USG would be willing support such HMG approach.

Newsom explained US desire avoid direct or leading role, and feeling that since Lewis Commonwealth citizen, UK initiative more appropriate.

4. Freeman agreed that World Bank was probably most promising sponsor but thought British might prefer see African country make initial approach to McNamara. Freeman ~~agreed~~ ^{proposed} ^{entire} put ~~the~~ ^{also} question to FCO and agreed that project was worthwhile on its merits. He/agreed that consideration as to possible future role developing for Lewis out of project should await further developments, and in any event, time not now propitious for new negotiating initiative, particularly in light current Nigerian military offensive.

5. Newsom and Freeman then agreed that developing military

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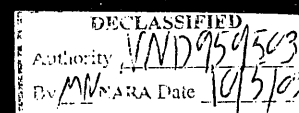
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DISTRIBUTION	ACTION: AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY ^{IMMEDIATE} - Page 3		
	<p>situation raised possibly imminent problems ranging from present influx of refugees into FMG-controlled territory to prospective FMG overrun of Enclave. Newsom outlined contingency planning now under way in US Government on relief problems that will arise from MF FMG military gains or victory and ^{on} need for expanded observer force in the event of overrun.</p> <p>6. Ambassador Freeman planning to return to London next week. It was agreed he will propose to FCO meeting on both Lewis project and contingency planning in London on January 9. Ambassador Ferguson and Brubeck will proceed London if meeting can be arranged and Freeman will also participate. Since FCO presumably informed by Freeman, request Embassy discuss with appropriate officials. If meeting arranged, and FCO thinks useful, Ferguson and Brubeck could be in London January 8 for preliminary discussion in more detail prior to January 9 meeting.</p> <p>End.</p> <p>RICHARDSON</p>		
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Date	December 30, 1969	S/S-O 11	Dpty

PRINCIPALS	GEOGRAPHIC BUREAUS
S ✓ 4	AF ✓✓ 18-19
U ✓ 5	ARA
J ✓ 6	EA
D ✓ 10	EUR ✓ www 12/70 4/
O	NEA
C ✓ 7	OTHER AGENCIES
S/CPR	White House ✓✓ 2-3
S/PC ✓✓ 12-13	Vice President
S/PRS	Defense ✓ 20
U/CF ✓ 14	State Rep ✓ 21
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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 10983 291849Z

47

ACTION: AF-18

INFO: OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12
UCF-05 AID-28 SR-01 ORM-03 SCSE-00 SCA-01 RSR-01 /155 W
----- 100726

R 291657Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 560
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LOME
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

UNCLAS LAGOS 10983

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PRESS ROUND-UP DEC. 27-29

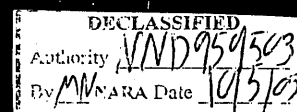
1. DEC. 27 PAPERS REPORT AND DEC. 29 POST CARRIES TEXT OF GOWON CHRISTMAS MESSAGE. MESSAGE VERY RELIGIOUS IN TONE. CALLED UPON ALL NIGERIANS TO SURRENDER THEMSELVES TO GOD, AND TO DEVOTE THEIR ENERGIES TO RECONSTRUCTION OF COUNTRY, DEVELOPMENT OF AMITY AND ENHANCEMENT OF SOCIAL JUSTICE. STATED THAT WITH END OF WAR IN SIGHT, NIGERIANS MUST BUILD FORCES OF PEACE AND CONCENTRATE MORE ON WAYS AND MEANS OF CLOSING DIFFERENCES.

2. DEC. 28 AND 29 PAPERS REPORT OPEN LETTER FROM "IBO CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE" (MADE UP TO GROUP OF PRIVATE IBOS) TO ADMINISTRATOR OF EAST CENTRAL STATE ASIKA CALLING FOR APPOINTMENT OF "PERSONS OF EAST CENTRAL STATE ORIGIN"

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 10983 291849Z

TO FEDERAL STATUTORY CORPORATIONS BOARDS, RESTITUTION OF STATES PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION, REPRESENTATIVE OF STATE ON FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL (FEC) AND APPOINTMENT OF CIVILIAN COMMISSIONERS IN E-C STATE. LETTER WELCOMED RECENT FMG DECREE WHICH GAVE ASIKA SAME POWERS AS MILVOV IN OTHER ELEVEN STATES AND EXPRESSED THANKS TO GOWON AND FMG FOR THIS MOVE.

3. DEC. 27 OBSERVER EDITORIAL LOOKS FOWARD TO 1970 AS YEAR WHICH SHOULD BRING "DRASTIC CHANGES IN STRAINED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN NATIONS AND PARTIAL IF NOT ENTIRE ELIMINATIONS OF SOME MAJOR IRRITATIONS". STATES THIS IS PARTICULARLY TRUE OF US-SOVIET RELATIONS AND ATTRIBUTES THIS CHANGE IN GREAT PART TO CHANGE OF ADMINISTRATIONS IN US AND GERMANY AND NEW OVERTURES TO EASE TENSIONS MADE BY NIXON AND BRANDT.

4. REPORTS CONCERNING EXPELLEES FROM GHANA STILL OCCUPY ATTENTION OF PAPERS WITH MOST PAPERS FRONT-PAGING SOME REPORT OF HARSHIPS CAUSED BY MOVE ALMOST EVERY DAY.
TRUEHEART

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By	MNARA
Date	10/3/05

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POL 2714 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State

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Addis Ababa 5564
19-26-69

CONFIDENTIAL 566

PAGE 01 ADDIS 05564 271338Z

43
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 AID-28 SR-01 ORM-03 SCS-04 SCA-01
UPW-01 UCF-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 SSO-00 CCO-00
USIE-00 NSCE-00 RSR-01 /148 W

102974

P R 261555Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1885
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 5564

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT)

SUBJ: NIGERIA - IOALIAN TRUCE PROPOSAL

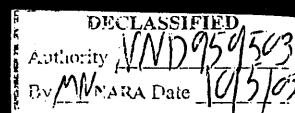
REF: ADDIS 5563

NO RPT NO RESPONSE FROM IEG, AS OF CLOSE BUSINESS GOVERNMENT
OFFICES, TO APPROACHES MADE YESTERDAY. MATTER CERTAINLY DISCUSSED
HIM AND FONMIN KETEMA WHO ACCOMPANIED HIM TO AIRPORT THIS MORNING

(1)

CONFIDENTIAL 22

0462





Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 ADDIS 05564 271338Z

FOR HIM'S PREVIOUSLY ANNOUNCED DEPARTURE FOR KULUBI.
YOST

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POL 2714 BIAFRA - NIGERIA

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PAGE 01 ADDIS 05563 251621Z

43

ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 CCO-00

UCF-05 UPW-01 AID-28 SR-01 ORM-03 SCA-01 SCS-04

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10

P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 (RSR-01 /148 W
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FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1884
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN PRIORITY
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AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 5563

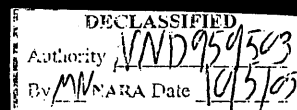
SUBJ: NIGERIA -- ITALIAN TRUCE PROPOSAL

REF: STATE 212042

1. ITALIAN AMBASSADOR LATE THIS AFTERNOON REPORTED TO GROUP OF COLLEAGUES INCLUDING SWISS AND GERMAN AMBASSADORS, DUTCH CHARGE AND MYSELF ON RESULTS HIS DEMARCHE THIS MORNING TO HIM SUGGESTING CALL FOR NIGERIAN TRUCE COMMENCING IMMEDIATELY AND EXTENDING TO JAN 6. ITALIAN AMBASSADOR SAID HIM RECEIVED PROPOSAL AND PROMISED CONSIDER SERIOUSLY, BUT NO FURTHER COMMENT. HIM DEPARTS TOMORROW

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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FOR HARAR TRIP.

2. GERMAN AMB DURING ABOVE MEETING EXCUSED SELF TO MAKE PERSONAL TELEPHONE CALL TO MINPALACE SUPPORTING ITALIAN DEMARCHE, WILL FOLLOW WITH NOTE TOMORROW. DUTCH INDICATED HE WOULD SUPPORT ITALIAN IN WRITING TO FOREIGN OFFICE. SWISS INDICATED PESSIMISTIC VIEW RE UTILITY, BUT MAY FOLLOW THROUGH WITH WRITTEN SUPPORT.

3. I HAVE SENT LETTER TO FOREIGN MINISTER SUPPORTING ITALIAN INITIATIVE IN TERMS SUGGESTED REFTEL. POUCHING COPY OF LETTER FIRST AVAILABLE POUCH.
YOST

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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PAGE 01 ADDIS 05562 251045Z

10
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 CCO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00

SSO-00 USIE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSC-10 P-03

RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 UCF-05 SR-01 ORM-03 AID-28 SCS-04

SCA-01 RSR-01 UPW-01 /135 W

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O P 251015Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1883
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY ROME

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 5562

SUBJ: NIGERIA - ITALIAN TRUCE PROPOSAL

REF: ADDIS 5554

ITALIAN AMB SAW HIM THIS MORNING. AMB UNABLE DEBRIEF BEFORE
1330 GMT FOR WHICH TIME HAS ARRANGED SESSION WITH GERMAN AMB,
DUTCH CHARGE, MYSELF AND POSSIBLY SWISS AMB FOR EXCHANGE OF
VIEWS. (BELGIANS AND AUSTRIANS WITHOUT INSTRUCTIONS AND PLAN NO
RPT NO APPROACH IEG.) PRELIMINARY INDICATION HIM WAS SOMEWHAT
"AMBARRASSED" BY APPROACH BUT FULL FLAVOR REACTION NOT YET CLEAR.
EXPECT OUR APPROACH AT FONMIN LEVEL MAY BE APPROPRIATE.
YO

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Washington, D.C. 20520

RS/R FILES

Attention MESNUN ET
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S/S - 19918

December 24, 1969

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S/S-S:CMS

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Nigeria/Biafra - Year-End Truce

Over the past several weeks we have consulted with various governments on a possible year-end truce appeal to the parties in the Nigerian Civil War. The Swiss, the 12-nation Hague Group, the ICRC, the Pope and the Italians have all explored and given up on an initiative.

With all of the interested governments, we have expressed our support and willingness to join in an appropriate appeal. Most governments, however, are unwilling to act. The prevailing view is that there is no chance that a truce can actually be achieved; that the Emperor (whose support is important) will not lend his aid; and thus, that an appeal can be no more than a gesture. We believe this is probably a correct assessment. An additional factor is that FMG cooperation in expanded relief efforts may soon be needed to meet the growing refugee and Biafran relief problems, and that this cooperation would be jeopardized by the probable FMG resentment of a truce appeal at this time. The FMG is in the middle of a major military offensive and a truce appeal would look to it like a purely political, pro-Biafran gesture.

The Italians are, nevertheless, making a last-minute unilateral approach to the Emperor, urging him to appeal to the two parties for a Christmas truce. We have instructed our Embassy in Addis that if, in light of the Emperor's reaction further action seems useful, it should support the Italian approach.

POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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MICROFILMED
BY S/S: CMS

AF/SN: W. H. Brubeck


0467


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By MWARA Date 10/5/03

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We believe chances for an appeal by the Emperor, or a further initiative by the Pope or other governments are remote. If, therefore, as seems probable, the Italian approach fails, we do not believe there is any further useful action the United States Government can take.


William P. Rogers

AF/SN:WHBrubeck:gw 

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By	MM NARA Date 10/5/03

(11)



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

CONFIDENTIAL

19918

December 24, 1969

TO: The Secretary
THROUGH: The Under Secretary *W*
S/S *(KVP)*
FROM: AF - David D. Newsom *DDN*
SUBJECT: Nigeria/Biafra--Year-End Truce--ACTION MEMORANDUM

The Under Secretary and Mr. Kissinger discussed this subject by phone yesterday and it was agreed to send the President an information memorandum.

Recommendation:

That you sign the attached memorandum.

Approve (signed)

Disapprove _____

Attachment:

Memorandum to the President

AF/SN:WHBrubeck:gw *1/11/70*

CONFIDENTIAL

POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

(1)

0469

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Authority	VND 959/503
By	MN NARA Date 10/3/05

66



POL 27-14 BIRFRA-NIGERIA
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Classification

Department of State
TELEGRAM

212042

15-15

INDICATE:
☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

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24 DEC 69 41 48Z

212042

ACTION: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
INFO: Amembassy ROME PRIORITY
Amembassy ABIDJAN "
Amembassy BONN "
Amembassy BERN "
Amembassy BRUSSELS "
Amembassy COPENHAGEN "
Amembassy DUBLIN "
Amembassy THE HAGUE "
Amembassy HELSINKI "
Amembassy LAGOS "
Amembassy LIBREVILLE "
Amembassy OSLO "
Amembassy OTTAWA "
~~DUBLIN~~/Amembassy STOCKHOLM PRIORITY
Amembassy VIENNA PRIORITY
USMISSION GENEVA "

STATE: _____

REF : Addis Ababa 5546

SUBJ : Nigeria-Italian Truce Proposal

1. Having being unsuccessful in obtaining ^{agreement of other} coordinated governments to ~~coordinate~~ truce appeal, the Italian Embassy has informed us GOI today instructed its Ambassador Addis to ~~a~~ make unilateral approach to Emperor. He is telling Emperor that after December 6 discussion of possible ^{for} appeal through HIM to parties/year-end truce, Hague Group decided defer any approach to avoid conflict with _____

(17)

DRAFTED BY: AF/SN:WHBrubeck:bjr <i>VMS</i>	DRAFTING DATE 12/23/69	TEL. EXT. 21185	APPROVED BY: AF/SN:WHBrubeck <i>VMS</i>
---	---------------------------	--------------------	--

CLEARANCES:
AF - Mr. Newson (subst.) *VMS* S/PC - Mr. Ruser (subst.) *VMS*
S/S - ~~Melvin Levitsky~~
→ Melvin Levitsky

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By MNA Date 10/5/03



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Page 2

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ACTION:

Addis negotiations. Addis talks having broken down, ~~appropriate~~ appropriate Italian now think ~~(confidential)~~ re-open subject and ask HIM to appeal to two parties for December 23 - January 6 urging truce. They ~~urging~~ on HIM advantages of truce ~~xxx~~ to help improve climate/negotiations.

2. We have informed Italians we instructing you consult with Italian Ambassador Addis. If, in light Emperor's reaction Italian approach you think it useful, you authorize approach IEG at level you consider appropriate, Palace, Fonoff or ~~xxxx~~ to support Italian initiative.

3. BEGIN FYI - In our view, if HIM reactions to Italians basically ~~xxxx~~ negative no useful purpose in your approach IEG. ~~xxxx~~ If, ~~xxxx~~ to Italian appeal ~~xxxx~~ if, however, Emperor appears receptive, believe sympathetic you should inform IEG that USG/sympathetic to and supports truce idea and prepared to cooperate in any way HIM thinks useful. Believe you should also / ~~xxxx~~ explain if you approach IEG, that USG interested & in truce/as offering possibility for expanded flow of relief. Request

DRAFTED BY:

DRAFTING DATE TEL. EXT.

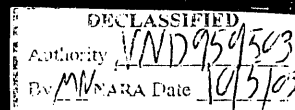
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4-68

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ACTION:

you also consult as feasible with Hague Group embassies
to ascertain if other governments also supporting Italian
initiative with HIM - END FYI

4. For non-African addressee posts: request you inform
host government of position USG taking and ask what,
if any, action they propose take in support Italian
initiative.

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XR Pal 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria

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24 DEC 69 23 13Z

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ACTION: Amembassy LIBREVILLE

INFO : Amembassy LAGOS

STATE _____

REF: Libreville 1298 (NOTAL)

Include Lagos as info addressee on traffic concerning Nigerian situation.

END

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AF/SN:RJWach:11

DRAFTING DATE

12/24/69

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21185

APPROVED BY:

AF/SN:WHBrubeck

CLEARANCES:

AF/C:JAMcKesson (in subst)

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA NIGERIA

Department of State

TELEGRAM

*Adabo Ababa 5554
12-24-69*

CONFIDENTIAL 574

PAGE 01 ADDIS 05554 241748Z

51
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 UCF-05 CCO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00
USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 SCS-04 SCA-01
SR-01 ORM-03 AID-28 UPW-01 ACDA-18 RSR-01 /166 W
094413

O P 241630Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1875
INFO AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
RUDKLM/AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM 0015
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 5554

SUBJ: NIGERIA - ITALIAN TRUCE PROPOSAL

REF: STATE 212042

1. ITALIAN AMBASSADOR RECEIVED INSTRUCTIONS LATE THIS AFTERNOON
ALONG LINES PARA 1 REFTEL. HE MAKING EVERY EFFORT CONTACT HIM
BUT WE NOW INFORMED (AND CONFIRMED BY MGR ETHIOPIAN AIRLINES)
THAT HIM DEPARTING TOMORROW MORNING FOR ST. GABRIEL'S DAY CELE-

①

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Authority VND 954/503
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PAGE 02 ADDIS 05554 241748Z

BRATIONS AT KULIBI NEAR HARAR AND RETURN DATE UNCERTAIN.

2. GERMAN AMBASSADOR HAS INSTRUCTIONS SUPPORT ITALIAN INITIATIVE AND PLANS DO SO IF ITALIAN AMB SUCCESSFUL IN SECURING AUDIENCE, BY LETTER TO FONMIN OR MINPALACE. FINNISH AMBASSADOR INFORM US SCANDINAVIAN REPS ADDIS (FINNS, SWEDES AND PROBABLY DANES AND NORWEGIANS RESIDENT CAIRO) HAVE INSTRUCTIONS NOT RPT NOT TAKE PART PRESENT INITIATIVE LEAGELY APPARENTLY BECAUSE OF WHAT THEY FEEL IS INAPPROPRIATELY HURRIED TIMING AND MINIMUM CHANCES SUCCESS THIS STAGE. HAVE BEEN UNABLE REACH OTHER HAGUE GROUP REPS BUT WILL CONSULT AS POSSIBLE PRIOR ANY APPROACH IEG. SWEDISH CHARGE SAWN SCANS# ALSO RELUCTANT TO GO AHEAD BEFORE AGREEMENT REACHED ON ARRANGEMENTS FOR SIMULTANEOUS EXPANSION RELIEF EFFORTS.

3. ITALIAN AMB WILL KEEP US INFORMED OF RESULTS HIS EFFORTS AND WE WILL FEED IN AS APPEARS USEFUL IN ACCORDANCE DEPT'S INSTRUCTIONS PARA 2 AND 3 REFTEL.
YOST

NOTE: HAS RECEIVED. WILL BE SERVICED UPON REQUEST.

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31

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TELEGRAM

Addis Ababa 5548
12-24-69

CONFIDENTIAL 194

PAGE 01 ADDIS 05548 241124Z

12
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 UPW-01 UCF-05 SR-01 ORM-03 AID-28

SCS-04 SCA-01 SS0-00 CCO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03

RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 RSR-01 /148 W

092559

O 241109Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1870

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 5548

SUBJECT: NIGERIA - ITALIAN TRUCE PROPOSAL

REF: STATE 212042

ITALIAN EMBASSY HAS NO RPT NO INSTRUCTIONS AS OF
1000 GMT. HAS PROMISED INFORM US AS SOON AS
ANYTHING RECEIVED.
YOST

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Nigeria
Department of State
TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 DUBLIN 00940 241606Z

47
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 UPW-01 UCF-05 CIAE-00 DOBE-00
PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01
PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 SR-01 ORM-03 SCS-04 SCA-01 AID-28
RSR-01 /160 W

093883

P R 241424Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1617
INFO AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
USMISSION GENEVA

CONFIDENTIAL DUBLIN 940

SUBJECT: NIGERIA-BIAFRA - YEAR END TRUCE

REF: STATE 212042

1. EXTAFF INFORMED SUBSTANCE PARAS 1 AND 2 REPTTEL. EXTAFF
STATES THAT SINCE IRISH SUPPORT FOR ITALIAN PROPOSAL WAS
CONTINGENT ON BROAD SUPPORT FOR IT, WHICH FAILED MATERIALIZE,
IRISH GOVERNMENT PLANS TAKE NO FURTHER ACTION. EXTAFF
ALSO NOTED THAT IN ANY EVENT IRELAND HAS NO DIPLOMATIC

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PAGE 02 DUBLIN 00940 241606Z

REPRESENTATION IN ADDIS ABABA. GP-3
MOORE

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23

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIRECTOR OF INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH

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*Intelligence
Note* -877

December 24, 1969

To : The Secretary
Through: S/S
From : INR - George C. Denney, Jr. *h.c.d.*
Subject: NIGERIA-BIAFRA: Little Prospect for Negotiations

Nigeria's failure to send a delegation to the peace negotiations at Addis Ababa on December 15 may indicate a hardening Nigerian preference for a military "solution" to the problem of Biafran secession. Federal military activity is increasing, and Federal forces are advancing. If Biafra collapses, immediate, effective relief will be necessary.

The Failure of the Addis Talks (or The Emperor Has No Clothes). The Biafrans have adamantly refused to negotiate under the OAU's "one Nigeria" resolution; nevertheless, they responded to French pressure and sent a delegation to Addis Ababa for the talks proposed by the Emperor. They apparently believed that the talks would be sponsored by Haile Selassie acting in his personal capacity and not as Chairman of the OAU Consultative Committee. The Nigerians, perhaps encouraged by military gains, showed no real interest in the talks. They delayed sending a delegation, and their hand was strengthened by the Biafran leader, Colonel C. Odumegwu Ojukwu, who expressed over the radio on December 15 his understanding that the talks were outside the OAU. The FMG, which has insisted it would negotiate only under the OAU resolution, delayed further while it called for clarification from Addis. The Emperor was cornered on the issue, which had to be fuzzed if his efforts were to succeed. He had no choice but to authorize a statement that the talks had in fact been intended to come under the OAU, thus killing any chance of Biafran participation.

(3)
This report was produced by the Bureau of Intelligence and Research. Aside from normal substantive exchange with other agencies at the working level, it has not been coordinated elsewhere.

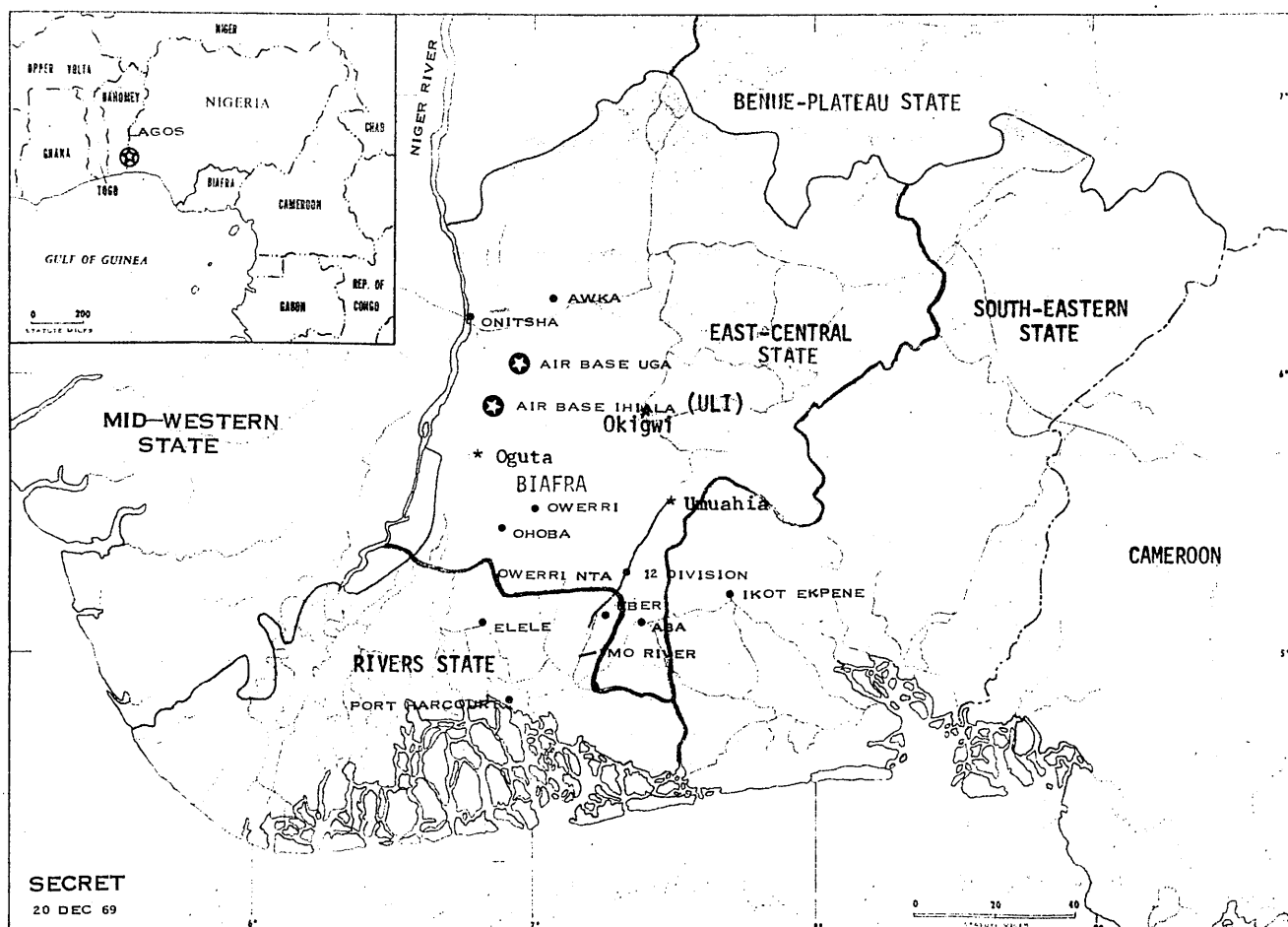
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*Doc 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria
NR Doc 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
NR Doc 3 OAU*

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By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR



TERRITORY RETAKEN BY NIGERIAN FORCES

0480

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Further Talks? Except for a nebulous, unpromising initiative involving the Prime Ministers of Ghana and Sierra Leone, and possibly the Presidents of Ivory Coast and Gabon, there are no more peace negotiation efforts afloat. The Nigerians have said for the record they are willing to meet the Biafrans in Addis Ababa on January 5, but they probably do not see any danger that the Biafrans will show up for talks based on the OAU formula, despite Biafran military setbacks. The FMG, until such time as its military offensive is definitively halted, surely sees no purpose in negotiating compromises.

Current Military Situation. The FMG has increased military pressure on Biafra in the past month. The Federal Third Marine Commando Division in the southeast has pushed north about 12 miles along a broad front. By advancing some 25 miles on any one of four routes, this division could split the enclave in two between Ikot-Ekpene and Umuahia; it is also less than 30 miles from the principal Biafran airfield at Uli. The Federal First Division in the north, itself 20 to 25 miles from Uli, has been less active, but has made a net gain of about two miles in the Onitsha-Awka area. This division is expected to strike from the Awka-Okigwi axis towards the Biafran airfields at Uli and Uga. The Biafrans are seriously short of ammunition and qualified officers. Their 12th Division apparently has collapsed, and more Biafran reserves are being committed. Their MFI 9B light aircraft have been shifted in part from strategic missions to tactical ground support. Arms shipments are low because of loss of aircraft and maintenance difficulties.

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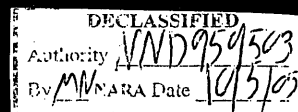
On the other hand, Federal forces have in the past had difficulty in sustaining offensive action for more than a few days. The offensive continues, but its current phase could well run out of steam before achieving a Biafran military collapse.

If Federal Forces Overrun Biafra...? If the Biafran army collapses, Federal forces will probably destroy all organized resistance. The Nigerian leader, General Yakubu Gowon, and his division commanders have discouraged "genocidal" acts by Federal troops, but discipline in the field is bound to be weak. There may be some danger to relief workers inside the enclave since there is often confusion between missionaries and mercenaries. Some civilian deaths would be inevitable in an over-run. There are now 12 international observers with the Federal forces, but it would be impossible for them to survey the Federal advance unless their numbers were greatly increased--which could only be done at the invitation of the FMG.

The Need For Relief Supplies. Up to 60,000 refugees, many Ibos, have already drifted through the advancing Federal lines to the south. Some 750,000 people could be split off from the enclave if Federal forces cut Biafra in two. Most would require emergency feeding. Over 3,000,000 people would be affected by a total collapse. Relief planes might not be permitted to use Uli, and the distribution systems of Caritas and the World Council of Churches would probably be disrupted, at least for a time. A sharp increase in starvation could probably be avoided only by prepositioning supplies and by advance contingency planning to ensure adequate transport and distribution personnel.

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PAGE 01 ROME 08080 241215Z

19
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 UCF-05
AID-28 IO-13 UPW-01 SR-01 ORM-03 (RSR-01) /155 W
092796

R 241145Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3515
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY BONN

C O N F I D E N T I A L ROME 8080

SUBJECT: VATICAN-NIGERIAN RELATIONS

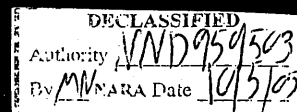
REF: LAGOS 10824; ROME 8070 (NOTAL)

1. NIGERIAN AMBASSADOR TO ITALY GARBA TOLD EMBOFF THAT ESTABLISHMENT DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN VATICAN AND NIGERIA AGREED. HE POUCHED REQUEST TO HIS FOREIGN MINISTRY ONE WEEK AGO ASKING APPROVAL FOR EARLY VATICAN PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT. NIGERIAN AMBASSADOR TO GERMANY IS TO BE ACCREDITED AS NON-RESIDENT AMBASSADOR TO HOLY SEE AND APOSTOLIC DELEGATION LAGOS WILL BE GIVEN DIPLOMATIC STATUS AS PRO-NUNCIATURE.

2. GARBA STATED THAT INITIATIVE FOR RECOGNITION CAME FROM NIGERIAN SIDE SEVERAL MONTHS AGO, AS RESULT HIS OWN LONG-SUSTAINED URGINGS CULMINATING AT CONFERENCE OF NIGERIAN AMBASSADORS TO EUROPE LAST JULY. HE HAS NEGOTIATED THE AGREEMENT WITH ARCHBISHOP CASAROLI, SECRETARY OF VATICAN COUNCIL FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS, AND LATTER'S DEPUTY MONS. GASPARI. GARBA ASSESSED SIGNIFICANCE OF STEP AS CAUTIOUS ADVANCE TOWARD BETTER VATICAN-FRG RELATIONS AND TOWARD VATICAN ACQUIRING "BETTER UNDERSTANDING" OF NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR. HE EXPRESSED HOPE VATICAN MIGHT BE MOVING TOWARD RECOG-

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PAGE 02 ROME 08080 241215Z

NITION OF NIGERIA AS UNITARY STATE BUT SAID NOTHING TO
CONFIRM PARA 2 OF LAGOS REFTEL.

3. GARBA ADDED THAT HE ALSO POUCHED TO FMG LAST WEEK
VATICAN INQUIRY WHETHER SOME PAPAL PUPRIC TRUCE APPEAL
WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO FMG (ROME REFTEL, PARA 1). GARBA
NOTED THIS WAS FIRST TIME VATICAN HAD ASKED FMG REACTION
BEFORE MAKING STATEMENT RE CIVIL WAR BUT WAS NOT OPTIMISTIC
VATICAN WOULD AWAIT REPLY. GP-3
STABLER

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41

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By	MNARA
Date	10/3/05



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NIGERIA **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 STOCKH 03835 241714Z

42
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12
UCF-05 UPW-01 RSR-01 /123 W
----- 094223

P R 241459Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4537
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L STOCKHOLM 3835

SUBJECT: NIGERIA: ITALIAN TRUCE PROPOSAL

REF: A) STATE 212042 B) STATE 211104

1. GIRON (DEPUTY DIRECTOR, FONOFF POLITICAL AFFAIRS) TOLD
EMBOFF AFTERNOON DECEMBER 24 THAT ITALIAN EMBASSY COUNSELOR HAD
JUST INFORMED HIM ABOUT ITALIAN GOVERNMENT'S PLAN TO MAKE UNI-
LATERAL APPROACH TO HAILE SELASSIE. GIRON STATED THAT GOS HAD
NOT YET GIVEN SUBSTANTIVE RESPONSE TO ITALIANS. EMBOFF TOOK
OPPORTUNITY OF CONVERSATION WITH GIRON TO SUMMARIZE APPROPRIATE
PORTIONS REFTELS.

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By MN NARA Date 10/3/05

18-24 69
STOCKHOLM-3835



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PAGE 02 STOCKH 03835 241714Z

2. GIRON SAID HE THOUGHT US POSITION (REFTEL A) WAS "SENSIBLE WAY TO APPROACH THE PROBLEM" AND THAT HE PLANNED TO SEND TELEGRAM TO SWEDISH EMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IN SIMILAR SENSE. IF EMPEROR WAS RECEPTIVE TO ITALIAN PROPOSAL, GIRON STATED, SWEDISH GOVERNMENT WOULD BE PREPARED TO SUPPORT INITIATIVE. OTHERWISE, GIRON THOUGHT PROPOSAL SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO DROP. CAMERON

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

31

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PAGE 01. THE HA 04854 241719Z

47
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12
UCF-05 UPW-01 AID-28 SCS-04 SCA-01 SR-01 ORM-03 RSR-01
/160 W

094255

P 241515Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4902
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
RUDKLM/AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM 146
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L THE HAGUE 4854

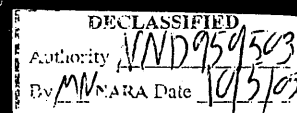
SUBJ: NIGERIA-ITALIAN TRUCE PROPOSAL

REF: STATE 212042

1. WHILE STILL SKEPTICAL AS TO OUTCOME, HUYDECOPER TELLS US INSTRUCTIONS HAVE BEEN SENT TO DUTCH EMBASSY ADDIS ABABA ALONG LINES THOSE SET FORTH FOR AMBASSADOR HALL IN REFTEL, WHICH WE HAD EARLIER DESCRIBED TO HIM. IF EMPEROR "NOT COMPLETELY NEGATIVE," DUTCH ARE TO INDICATE SUPPORT FOR ITALIAN PROPOSAL.

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0487



*The Hague - 4854
12-24-69*



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 THE HA 04854 241719Z

AT FONOFF LEVEL.

2. HUYDECOPER DID NOT SEE ANYTHING FURTHER WHICH COULD BE USE-
FULLY DONE BY HAGUE GROUP AT THIS STAGE.
BOVEY

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Authority	VND 954503
By	MN NARA Date 10/3/05



57
Lol 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 816

PAGE 01 BERN 03791 231213Z

17
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 UCF-05 UPW-01 SCS-04 SCA-01 SR-01
ORM-03 AID-28 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 (RSR-01)
/160 W

086180

P 231000Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY BERN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3032
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
USMISSION GENEVA

CONFIDENTIAL BERN 3791

REF: STATE 210783 AND 211104

ITALIAN AMBASSADOR RAISED PROPOSAL NOVEMBER 22 WITH
POLITICAL DEPARTMENT SYG MICHELI. THALMANN ALSO PRESENT.
SWISS GENERALLY SOUGHT TO DISCOURAGE IDEA AS WITHOUT
HOPE OF SUCCESS. THEY WOULD RELUCTANTLY SUPPORT IF
REST OF HAGUE GROUP AGREES BUT CONSIDER THAT GOWON'S
REFUSAL IS A FOREGONE CONCLUSION FOR REASONS GIVEN IN
LAGOS 10860. GP-3.
DAVIS

CONFIDENTIAL

0489

DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 959503
By	MV NARA Date 10/3/05



POL 27-14 Biafra-nigeria
Department of State
TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL 787

PAGE 01 OSLO 04917 231143Z

10
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 EUR-20 AID-28 SR-01 ORM-03 SCS-04 SCA-01
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10
P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 UCF-05 UPW-01 RSR-01
/160 W

086008

R 230858Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY OSLO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3063
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
A EMBASSY COPENHAGEN 783
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
A EMBASSY OTTAWA 94
AMEMBASSY ROME
RUDKTH/AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE 144
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

CONFIDENTIAL OSLO 4917

SUBJECT: NIGERIA-BIAFRA YEAR END TRUCE

REF: STATE 210783

1. EMBASSY OFFICER CONVEYED US VIEWS TO FOREIGN MINISTRY
OFFICIAL MOST DIRECTLY CONCERNED AND LEARNED THAT ITALIAN
AMBASSADOR HAD PRESENTED PROPOSAL THIS MORNING TO STATE
SECRETARY JACOBSEN.

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0490

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By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 OSLO 04917 231143Z

2. JACOBSEN MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS TO THE ITALIAN AMBASSADOR:

A. WHILE THE NORWEGIAN GOVERNMENT FAVORS ANY EFFORT TO BRING ABOUT A TRUCE, HOWEVER TEMPORARY, NORWAY DOES NOT WISH TO TAKE A LEADING ROLE IN THIS PARTICULAR EFFORT.

B. SINCE THE LAGOS AUTHORITIES HAVE CONSISTENTLY OPPOSED SUCH OPENENDED TRUCE PROPOSALS, THE NORWEGIANS SEE NO ADVANTAGE IN BEING CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH ANOTHER SUCH FAILURE.

C. ALSO, THE NORWEGIANS FEEL THAT THE ITALIAN PROPOSAL SHOULD DEAL WITH THE QUESTION OF ARRANGEMENTS FOR RELIEF SHIPMENTS DURING SUCH TRUCE PERIOD.

3. FOREIGN MINISTRY SOURCE TOLD US, BUT NOT THE ITALIAN AMBASSADOR, THAT IN THE EVENT THAT THE ITALIANS SHOULD MUSTER RESPECTABLE SUPPORT FOR A TRUCE APPEAL, THE NORWEGIANS OF COURSE WILL GO ALONG.

4. COMMENT: IN VIEW OF THE DIRECT, IF DISCREET, NORWEGIAN GOVERNMENT FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR THE NORWEGIAN CHURCH EMERGENCY RELIEF SHIPMENTS TO BIAFRA, THE FOREIGN MINISTRY OBVIOUSLY DOES NOT WISH TO BE UNNECESSARILY IDENTIFIED WITH A PROPOSAL WHICH MIGHT ONLY SERVE TO IRRITATE LAGOS. GP-3.
CROWE

CONFIDENTIAL

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DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND950503
By	MM NARA Date 10/3/05

66



POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 121

PAGE 01 ADDIS 05546 231643Z

51
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 CCO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00
PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01
PRS-01 SS-20 UCF-05 EUR-20 IO-13 UPW-01 SCS-04 SCA-01
SR-01 ORM-03 AID-28 OC-06 RSR-01 /154 W
087560

O R 231620Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8168
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY ROME

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 5546

SUBJ: NIGERIA-ITALIAN TRUCE PROPOSAL

REF: A. STATE 210783 PH 27-14 BY
B. STATE 211104

1. REGRET REFTEL A RECEIVED ADDIS ONLY TODAY (AFTER POST'S SERVICE REQUEST).

2. AGREE TRUCE APPEAL, IF TO HAVE ANY CHANCE SUCCESS, NEEDS BE MADE BY SINGLE PRESTIGIOUS SOURCE. WOULD POINT OUT HOWEVER THAT HIM HAS LOST GROUND IN LAST FEW DAYS AS RESULT ABORTIVE EFFORTS BRING ABOUT ADDIS PEACE TALKS AND THAT HE WILL BE PLACED IN SOMETHING OF A SPOT BY GROUP'S PRESSURE. HE WILL HAVE TO CONSIDER THAT IF HE AGREES TO ISSUE TRUCE CALL AND DOES NOT SUCCEED (AS SEEMS LIKELY AT THIS POINT) HE WILL HAVE DIMINISHED ONE STEP FURTHER HIS ABILITY ACT AT LATER DATE. ON OTHER HAND, PRESSURE FROM GROUP (WHICH LIKELY BECOME PUBLIC) WILL BE DIFFICULT RESIST. BELIEVE ON BALANCE HOWEVER HE WILL FIND DIFFICULT ACCEDE TO REQUEST FOR FURTHER ACTION THIS TIME.

3. HOPE, IF DECISION IS MADE APPROACH HIM, EVERY EFFORT WILL BE MADE KEEP APPROACH PRIVATE AS INDICATED PARA 1 REFTEL B.
YOST

CONFIDENTIAL

17-33-69
Addis Ababa 5546

11

0492

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By MN NARA Date 10/3/05



POL 27-14 Biafra-
Nigeria
Department of State
TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL 831

PAGE 01 DUBLIN 00937 231215Z

21
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00
SSO-00 USIE-00 CCO-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSC-10
P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 AID-28 SR-01 ORM-03 UPW-01
UCF-05 SCS-04 SCA-01 RSR-01 /148 W

937
12-23-69
Dublin

O R 231156Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1614
INFO AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
USMISSION GENEVA

086294

CONFIDENTIAL DUBLIN 937

SUBJECT: NIGERIA-BIAFRA - YEAR-END TRUCE
REF: STATE 211104: DUBLIN 933

1. SUBSTANCE PARAS 1 AND 2 FIRST REFTEL CONVEYED EXTAFF
WHICH REITERATED THAT IRELAND PREPARED SUPPORT ITALIAN
PROPOSAL. EXTAFF EXPRESSED GENERAL AGREEMENT WITH USG VIEWS
AS TO MANNER IN WHICH TRUCE APPEAL SHOULD BE MADE.

CONFIDENTIAL
28

0493

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Authority VND 959503
By MVA Date 10/3/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 DUBLIN 00937 231215Z

2. EXTAFF ADVISED BY IRISH AMBASSADOR AT THE HAGUE THAT
HAGUE GROUP MEETING AFTERNOON DECEMBER 23 PRESUMABLY TO
DECIDE ON ITALIAN PROPOSAL. EXTAFF BELIEVES HAGUE GROUP
WILL ALSO RAISE RELIEF ISSUES AT THIS MEETING. GP-3
MOORE

CONFIDENTIAL

28

0494

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Authority	VND 954503
By	MV NARA Date 10/5/03



PL 27-14 BIAFRA NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 874

PAGE 01 ROME 08045 231327Z

54
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 UCF-05 UPW-01 SCS-04 SCA-01 SR-01
ORM-03 AID-28 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20
CCO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 RSR-01 /148 W

086508

O P 231225Z DEC 69 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3493
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
RUDKLM/AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM 209
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L ROME 8045

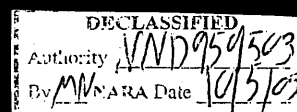
SUBJECT: BIAFRA: YEAR-END TRUCE

REF: STATE 210783, 211104

1. FOLLOWING (FROM FOREIGN MINISTRY'S DIRECTOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS)
SUPPLEMENTS AND FURTHER CLARIFIES ITALIAN PROPOSALS AS THEY HAVE
DEVELOPED FROM CONSULTATIONS WITH US AND WITH OTHER HAGUE GROUP
MEMBERS AND VATICAN.

CONFIDENTIAL

0495





Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ROME 08045 231327Z

2. BECAUSE OF TIME AND PRACTICALITIES OF SITUATION, GOI NOW BELIEVES IT MORE FEASIBLE TO THINK IN TERMS OF INDIVIDUAL BUT COORDINATED APPROACHES TO HIM ONLY. "COLLECTIVE" APPROACH DESIRABLE BUT JUST NOT PRACTICABLE, AND, WHILE VATICAN THOUGHT IT WOULD ALSO BE USEFUL INVOLVE HOUPHOUET AND BONGO, OTHER GOVERNMENTS CONSULTED HAVE ALMOST UNANIMOUSLY OPPOSED. "INVOLVEMENT OF HUMANITARIAN ORGANIZATIONS" IN APPROACHES WAS ALSO ORIGINALLY CONTEMPLATED, BUT NOW ABANDONED. THESE ORGS WOULD NOW BE INVOLVED ONLY IN SENSE OF CONTINUING THEIR ACTIVITIES DURING TRUCE.

3. ITALIANS HAVE APPROACHED VATICAN. SECRETARY OF STATE RECEIVED PROPOSAL WITH "GREAT PLEASURE" AND SAID WOULD IMMEDIATELY INFORM POPE, FOR WHOM BIAFRAN WAR WAS ONE OF HIS MOST SERIOUS CONCERNS. SECRETARY OF STATE NOTED VATICAN HAD RECENTLY APPROACHED FMG RE POSSIBILITY OF CHRISTMAS TRUCE BUT HAD RECEIVED NO ENCOURAGEMENT. SAID VATICAN WOULD LIKE TO BE INFORMED OF DEVELOPMENTS RE ITALIAN PROPOSAL. (FOREIGN MINISTRY INTERPRETS THIS TO BE AN INDICATION OF VATICAN SYMPATHY AND WILLINGNESS TO HELP.)

4. IN SHORT, GOI HOPING THAT HAGUE GROUP APPROACH OR APPROACHES IN ADDIS COULD BE MADE PERHAPS AS EARLY AS DECEMBER 23 TO URGE HIM TO APPEAL TO FMG AND BIAFRA FOR YEAR-END TRUCE. ITALIANS ALSO PREFER SINGLE DEMARCHE IN NAME OF ALL BUT PRESUME SOME GOVERNMENTS MAY WANT TO ACT ON OWN BEHALF. GOI WILLING ACT IN NAME USG OR OTHERS, IF DESIRED, BUT WOULD NEED AUTHORIZATION TO DO SO ASAP. INSTRUCTIONS TO ITALIAN AMBASSADOR EXPECTED BE SIGNED BY FONMIN TODAY (23RD). MINISTRY REP SAID GOI HAD NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT CHANCES OF APPEAL'S BEING HEEDDED, BUT BELIEVED PUBLIC OPINION DEMANDED EFFORT. STABLER

CONFIDENTIAL

0496

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 959/503
By MN NARA Date 10/3/05



POL 27-14 BIAFRA NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 245

PAGE 01 ROME 08070 231851Z

50
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 UCF-05 UPW-01 SCS-04 SCA-01 SR-01
ORM-03 AID-28 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20
CCO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 ACDA-18 RSR-01 /166 W
----- 088325

O 231835Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3509

C O N F I D E N T I A L ROME 8070

SUBJECT: BIAFRA: YEAR-END TRUCE

REF: ROME 8045 AND BRUBECK-STABLER TELECON

1. CHARGE HAS JUST TALKED WITH ARCHBISHOP CASAROLI (SECRETARY OF THE VATICAN COUNCIL FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS) CONCERNING POSSIBLE PAPAL TRUCE APPEAL. CASAROLI SAID THAT POPE HAD THOUGHT OF MAKING TRUCE APPEAL AND TO BE "CORRECT", HAD RECENTLY APPROACHED FMG ("THE MORE DIFFICULT PARTY") TO ASCERTAIN FMG REACTION TO SUCH APPEAL. TO DATE VATICAN HAS RECEIVED NO REPLY, AND HAS FEW ILLUSIONS ABOUT RECEIVING ENCOURAGEMENT FROM FMG.

2. WHEN ASKED WHETHER POPE MIGHT INCLUDE SOME APPEAL IN HIS CHRISTMAS DAY MESSAGE, CASAROLI REPLIED THAT THIS YEAR'S MESSAGE, WHICH WILL BE READ ON CHRISTMAS DAY, WILL NOT FOLLOW FORMAT OF PREVIOUS YEARS. THUS, HE IMPLIED THAT THERE WOULD BE NO APPEAL AS SUCH IN POPE'S DECEMBER 25 MESSAGE.

3. CASAROLI INDICATED THAT VATICAN HAD VERY LITTLE EXPECTATION THAT ITALIAN PROPOSAL WOULD GET VERY FAR AND WE CONFIRMED THAT THIS WAS OUR JUDGMENT AS WELL.

4. CASAROLI PROMISED TO INFORM CHARGE SHOULD THERE BE ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS IN NEXT TWENTY-FOUR HOURS REGARDING

CONFIDENTIAL

22

0497

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MN NARA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ROME 08070 231851Z

VATICAN'S PLANS. GP-2.
STABLER

CONFIDENTIAL

0498

DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 950503
By	MV NARA Date 10/3/05

46
AUERBACH & LABES

Attorneys at Law

LEON M. LABES
WILLIAM AUERBACH
STANLEY W. TAYLOR
ORIN R. KITZES

52

TELEPHONE (212) 972-1100
CABLE ADDRESS: AUERLABES

*Outgoing letter dated
1/20/70 is filed in
the 1970-1972 black
605 Third Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10016*

December 23, 1969

Hon. William P. Rogers
Secretary of State
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bill:

I was delighted to read in this morning's newspaper that my old friend, Phil Hoffman, was among the members of the group that conferred with you in Washington yesterday with reference to your statement on Israel. I can think of no one who is better informed and more articulate than Phil and I am sure that he stated the position and the concern of American Jewry with authority and eloquence.

I phoned Phil this morning and we spoke at some length. I am happy to learn that Phil has come away from the meeting with a feeling of reassurance that our government's position has not changed and that Israel will not be left without a powerful friend in this world.

I can well understand the pressures that are brought to bear on the President and on you from all sides in this tragic situation. It is unfortunate but it is an inescapable fact that Russia has lined up on the side of the Arabs and is supplying it with important arms and military training. It is also an unfortunate fact that Israel has nowhere to turn but to the United States for the wherewithal to fight for its survival.

I do hope and pray that while you continue your commendable efforts to find a basis for a just peace in the Middle East our government will take such steps as may be necessary to keep Israel in a position where it can defend itself at all times.

Signed,
Leon M. Labes

(1)

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27-14
AKAB-754

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Authority VND 954503
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

AUERBACH & LABES

Hon. William P. Rogers

December 23, 1969

Page 2

Although I am an American Jew I can assure you that I and millions of others who are similarly situated are concerned first and foremost with the best interests of our country. There is no doubt in my mind but that it is consistent with this concern to make clear our determination that the State of Israel will live forever in security and in peace.

I have the strong feeling that much of Israel's publicized position is subject to substantial variation. I do not doubt that they would be amenable to rid themselves of 95% of the conquered territory and the people who live there. They must have a buffer zone for military security but that is all. Your proposal that Jerusalem be an international city makes sense, but I think it would be unrealistic to ask that the municipal government be other than as presently constituted, with an Israeli Mayor. However, it should be open at all times to nationals of all countries and members of all faiths.

Please be assured of the continued good wishes and understanding of the intelligent American Jewry. Any proposal for settlement which is not met with dismay by both sides cannot be a reasonable one.

Please accept my warm greetings and every good wish for the new year.

Cordially,



LEON M. LABES

LML/bc

0500

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By	MN NARA Date 10/3/05



POL 27-14 BIAFRA -
Department of State
NIGERIA TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL 878

PAGE 01 STOCKH 03825 231326Z

53

ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-10

SR-01 ORM-03 SCS-04 SCA-01 AID-28 UCF-05 UPW-01

ACDA-18 RSR-01 /178 W

086507

P R 231100Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4531
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
USMISSION GENEVA

CONFIDENTIAL STOCKHOLM 3825

SUBJECT: NIGERIA-BIAFRA YEAR-END TRUCE

REF: STATE 210783 POL 27-14 B-1

1. EMBOFF DISCUSSED ITALIAN PROPOSAL MORNING DECEMBER 23
WITH GIRON (DEPUTY DIRECTOR, FONOFF POLITICAL AFFAIRS).
GIRON CNFIRMED THAT ITALIAN EMBASSY HERE MADE APPROACH TO HIM
AFTERNOON DECEMBER 22 ALONG LINES PARA 2, REFTEL. GIRON TOLD
EMB OFF THAT WHILE GOS WAS STILL IN PROCESS OF EXAMINING TERMS

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Authority VND 950503
By MN NARA Date 10/3/05

STOCKHOLM-3825
12-23



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STOCKH 03825 231326Z

OF PROPOSAL. HE LEARNED THAT NORWEGIANS HAD ALREADY GIVEN SUBSTANTIVE RESPONSE TO ITALIANS. GOS SUBSEQUENTLY DECIDED, GIRON SAID, THAT NORWEGIAN RESPONSE HAD BEEN "APPROPRIATE" AND GIRON THEREUPON PASSED ON IDENTICAL RESPONSE TO ITALIANS.

2. GIRON STATED THAT SWEDISH (AND PRESUMABLY NORWEGIAN) POSITION CONVEYED TO ITALIANS IS AS FOLLOWS:

A. ONE DAY WAS TOO SHORT NOTICE TO ARRANGE FOR TRUCE IN NIGERIA.

B. GIVEN MISTRUST AND BITTERNESS AMONG PARTIES IN NIGERIA TODAY, IT SEEMED "FAIRLY OBVIOUS" THAT ITALIAN PROPOSAL WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTABLE TO FMG.

C. ITALIAN PROPOSAL DID NOT SPECIFICALLY ADDRESS ITSELF TO PROBLEM OF INCREASING HUMANITARIAN AID SHIPMENTS. TRUCE PROPOSAL SHOULD BE "CONNECTED" WITH QUESTION OF INCREASING SUCH AID.

3. GIRON STATED THAT HE DOUBTED VERY MUCH THAT HAGUE GROUP WOULD BE CONVENED TO DISCUSS ITALIAN PROPOSAL. GIVEN AIR OF UNREALITY SURROUNDING PROPOSAL, GIRON SAID, IT WOULD PROBABLY JUST "DIE ON VINE."

4. GIRON MADE OBSERVATION THAT A TRUCE IN NIGERIA NEED NOT BE "HOOKED" TO CHRISTMAS. AFTER ALL, HE NOTED, A MOSLEM HOLIDAY WOULD HAVE BROADER EMOTIONAL APPEAL TO LARGE SEGMENTS OF NIGERIA. THERE WILL THUS BE "OTHER OPPORTUNITIES," HE SAID, AND NORDICS DO NOT BELIEVE IT WOULD BE PRODUCTIVE TO GET BEHIND ITALIAN PROPOSAL. GP-3
CAMERON

CONFIDENTIAL

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Authority	VND 954503
By	MNARA Date 10/3/05



Pol 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

31

CONFIDENTIAL 355

PAGE 01 THE HA 04845 232055Z

88
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 IO-13
SR-01 ORM-03 UCF-05 UPW-01 SCS-04 SCA-01 AID-28 RSR-01

/160 W

088898

P R 231620Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4896

INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMENKSSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY ROME
RUDKLM/AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM 144
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
RKFHGV/USMISSION GENEVA 531

C O N F I D E N T I A L THE HAGUE 4845

SUBJECT: NIGERIA-BIAFRA YEAR END TRUCE

REF: STATE 211104

1. AS OF LATE DEC. 23, HUYDECOPER HAD NOT HEARD FROM ALL HAGUE GROUP MEMBERS RE ITALIAN PROPOSAL AND HAD NOT, THEREFORE, CONVOKED GROUP MEETING. HE TOLD US BELGIANS AND DANES WERE MOST NEGATIVE, WITH SWEDES, NORWEGIANS, SWISS AND IRISH VERY RELUCTANT. WHEN

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Authority VND 959503
By MNARA Date 10/5/05

*The Hague - 4845
12-23-69*



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 THE HA 04845 232055Z

REPLIES ARE RECEIVED FROM OTHERS, HE WILL DECIDE
WHETHER TO CONVENT HAGUE GROUP. HIS PRESENT READING
IS THAT CONSENSUS WILL BE "BETTER NOT."

2. COMMENT: CLEAR THAT HUYDEVOPER REGARDS EXERCISE
AF LITTLE MORE THAN PERFUNCTORY AT THIS LATE DATE. HE
COMMENTED THAT, WHILE NO ONE COULD BE AGAINST MOTHER-
WOOD, IN FACT NO HAGUE GROUP COUNTRY SEEMED ENTHUSIASTIC
ABOUT THIS TRUCE PROPOSAL. HE CONTINUES DOUBT WHETHER
IT HAS A CHANCE WITH FMG AND BELIEVES ITALIANS MAY
HAVE ADVANCED IT IN ORDER TO ALLEVIATE THEIR PARLIA-
MENTARY PRESSURE (WHICH HE SAID DUTCH WELL UNDERSTOOD).
GP-3.
BOVEY

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

UNCLASSIFIED 714

PAGE 01 ADDIS 05531 231057Z

21
ACTION AF-18

INFO. OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 UCF-05 AID-28 CIAE-00 DODE-00
PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01
PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 RSR-01 /150 W
----- 085767

P R 230930Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1860
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS

UNCLAS ADDIS ABABA 5531

SUBJ: NIGERIA

REF: ADDIS 5525

1. OFFICIAL ENGLISH LANGUAGE ETHIOPIAN HERALD DEC 23 FRONT-PAGED DENIAL BY MOFA SPOKESMAN OF ALLEGATION BY KARGBO THAT HIM HAD GIVEN HIM ASSURANCES THAT ADDIS NIGERIAN NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE CONDUCTED OUTSIDE OAU RESOLUTION ON NIGERIA (REFTEL).

2. TEXT MOFA STATEMENT FOLLOWS: QTE IN A REUTERS DESPATCH, MR. KARGBO, THE SECRETARY OF DEFENCE OF SIERRA LEONE, IS REPORTED TO HAVE SAID THAT HE HAD ASKED FOR AN ASSURANCE FROM HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS ABOUT ENDING THE CIVIL WAR IN NIGERIA WOULD BE OUTSIDE THE OAU RESOLUTION AND HAD RECEIVED SUCH ASSURANCES.

IT IS NOT THE ROLE OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE TO REPLY TO PUBLIC STATEMENTS BY ANY PERSON ON THE ACTIVITIES THAT LEAD TO THE ARRANGEMENT FOR PEACE NEGOTIATIONS WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS. BUT AS WAS MADE VERY CLEAR BY THE SPOKESMAN OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS ON DEC 19, 1969, THERE WAS NO ASSURANCE GIVEN TO ANY PERSON AT ANY TIME THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE CONDUCTED OUTSIDE OAU RESOLUTIONS.

NEVERTHELESS, HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY WILL CONTINUE HIS SEARCH

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PAGE 02 ADDIS 05531 231057Z

FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE GRAVE TRAGEDY THAT HAS BEFALLEN
THE CONTINENT OF AFRICA AS A RESULT OF THE FRATRICIDAL CONFLICT
IN NIGERIA. UNQTE.
YOST

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CONFIDENTIAL 739

PAGE 01 LIBREV 01298 231111Z

21
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 UCF-05 RSR-01 AID-28 SCS-04 SCA-01
UPW-01 SR-01 ORM-03 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00
SSO-00 USIE-00 CCO-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSC-10
P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 /148 W

085860

P R 230935Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3009
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LIBREVILLE 1298

SUBJECT: NIGERIA/BIAFRA - YEAR END TRUCE

REF: STATE 210783; BONN 16143

1. INASMUCH AS SUSPENSION OF HOSTILITIES INDEPENDENT OF
POLITICAL SOLUTION WOULD BE HIGHLY ADVANTAGEOUS TO BIAFRA AT THIS
POINT, HAVE NO DOUBT THAT ITALIAN TRUCE PROPOSAL WOULD BE
ENTHUSIASTICALLY ENDORSED BY BIAFRANS (ALTHOUGH THEY COULD

CONFIDENTIAL
4

0507

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PAGE 02 LIBREV 01298 231111Z

CERTAINLY BE EXPECTED MAKE STANDARD PITCH FOR GREAT-POWER GUARANTEES AGAINST VIOLATIONS). SUCH TRUCE WOULD BE VIEWED BY BIAFRANS AS TEMPORARY AT BEST, BUT WOULD APPEAL TO THEM AS ANOTHER STEP TOWARD INVOLVING LARGER NATIONS WHO THEY FEEL ARE ONLY ONES CAPABLE OF BRINGING ABOUT CONCLUSION TO HOSTILITIES. WOULD, OF COURSE, ALSO PERMIT THEM A BREATHER TO GIRD THEMSELVES FOR RENEWAL FMG OFFENSIVE.

2. BIGGEST SNAG AS FAR AS BIAFRANS CONCERNED WOULD LIKELY BE CHANNEL THROUGH WHICH PROPOSED TRUCE APPEAL TO BE PASSED. OJUKWU WOULD CERTAINLY LISTEN TO PLEA FROM BONGO OR HOUPHOUET, BUT ONE COMING EXCLUSIVELY FROM EMPEROR (BONN REFTEL) IN WAKE OF BITTER FIASCO AT ADDIS LAST WEEK MIGHT WELL BE DISMISSED OUT OF HAND. HIM NOW LUMPED TOGETHER WITH OTHER "INSINCERE AFRICAN MEDDLERS" BY OJUKWU AND CONSIDERED INCAPABLE VIEWING BIAFRAN INTERESTS OUTSIDE CONTEXT OAU RESOLUTIONS FAVORING UNITED NIGERIA. BIAFRANS WOULD BE MORE ATTENTIVE CERTAINLY TO APPEAL FROM NON-AFRICAN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS LIKE JCA, PARTICULARLY IF THEY SAW MEANS THEREIN TO INVOLVE GREAT POWERS.

3. AS FOR BONGO, HE MUCH PREOCCUPIED AT THIS MOMENT WITH UDEAC SUMMIT ENDING CHRISTMAS EVE. THUS, ALTHOUGH HE PROBABLY WOULD VIEW APPEAL WITH APPROVAL INSOFAR AS IT FAVORS BIAFRA MILITARILY AT CRITICAL JUNCTURE, SUSPECT IT WOULD BE EASIER GET WORD TO OJUKWU VIA HOUPHOUET JUST NOW.
CRIGLER

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CONFIDENTIAL 856

PAGE 01 ABIDJA 03464 221730Z

54
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 UCF-05 UPW-01 SCS-04 SCA-01 SR-01
ORM-03 AID-28 CIA-04 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 RSR-01
/164 W

081346

P R 221540Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4868
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY BERN POUCH
AMEMBASSY BONN POUCH
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS POUCH
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN POUCH
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN POUCH
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE POUCH
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI POUCH
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE POUCH
AMEMBASSY OSLO POUCH
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA POUCH
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM POUCH
AMEMBASSY VIENNA POUCH

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SUBJECT: NIGERIA BIAFRA - YEAR END TRUCE

REF: STATE 210783

INASMUCH AS LAGOS AND DEPARTMENT SEE LITTLE CHANCE OF TRUCE,
IT WOULD SEEM SENSIBLE TO SAVE WHAT POLITICAL CREDIT US ENJOYS
FORMORE PROPITIOUS OCCASION. AFRICAN FAILURE AT ADDIS PROBABLY
TOO RECENT IN ANY EVENT FOR NON-AFRICAN INITIATIVE TO BE EFFECTIVE.

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PAGE 02 ABIDJA 03464 221730Z

2. AS LAGOS SAYS, HOWEVER, IT IS DIFFICULT TO BE AGAINST PEACE.
PERHAPS WE COULD SUGGEST THAT ITALIANS PROBE NIGERIAN AND
BIAFRAN RECEPTIVITY OF THEIR OWN. GP-3.
ROOT

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TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL 981

PAGE 01 DUBLIN 00933 222001Z

S4
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 UCF-05 UPW-01 SCS-04 SCA-01 SR-01

ORM-03 AID-28 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20

SSO-00 CCO-00 NSCE-00 RSR-01 /148 W

082133

O R 221617Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1611
INFO AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L DUBLIN 933

SUBJECT: NIGERIA-BIAFRA - YEAR END TRUCE

REF: STATE 210783

1. EXTAFF ADVISES THAT ITALIAN AMBASSADOR MORNING
DECEMBER 22 CALLED TO ASCERTAIN IRISH REACTION TO IDEA
OF YEAR-END TRUCE. ITALIAN AMBASSADOR WAS VAGUE AS TO
DETAILS, DID NOT MENTION WORD "PROPOSAL" AND DID NOT
PROVIDE ALL DETAILS AS DESCRIBED PARA 2 REFTEL. EXTAFF

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0511

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PAGE 02 DUBLIN 00933 222001Z

TOLD ITALIAN AMBASSADOR THAT ALTHOUGH IT BELIEVED NEITHER NIGERIA NOR BIAFRA WOULD ACCEPT IDEA AND THAT TIME WAS LACKING TO IMPLEMENT TRUCE BY DECEMBER 23, IRISH GOVERNMENT VIEWED IDEA WITH SYMPATHY.

2. AFTER RECHECKING WITH ITALIAN AMBASSADOR EXTAFF HAS INFORMED US THAT ITALIAN AMBASSADOR EVIDENTLY MISREAD HIS INSTRUCTIONS, AND THAT ITALIAN "IDEA" OF YEAR-END TRUCE SHOULD BE CONSIDERED AS A PROPOSAL ALONG LINES REFTEL.

3. THIS BEING CASE, EXTAFF SAYS IRISH GOVERNMENT IS DISPOSED SUPPORT PROPOSAL IF OTHER MEMBERS OF HAGUE GROUP ACCEPT IT. EXTAFF WOULD APPRECIATE BEING INFORMED OF U.S. DECISION. GP-3
MOORE

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Authority	VND 954503
By	MNARA
Date	10/3/05



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Department of State
TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL 996

PAGE 01 COPENH 04797 231512Z

45
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 UCF-05 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CC0-00

USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 AID-28 SR-01

ORM-03 UPW-01 RSR-01 SCS-04 SCA-01 /148 W
087109

O P 231421Z DEC 69 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3022
INFO AMEMBASSY HELSINKI PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L COPENHAGEN 4797

SUBJ: NIGERIA-BIAFRA - YEAR END TRUCE

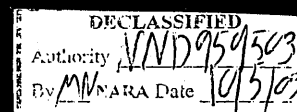
REF: STATE 210783 & 211104

DANISH FONOFF NEGATIVE TO ITALIAN PROPOSAL AND INFORMS US THAT OTHER NORDICS (SWEDEN, NORWAY, ICELAND AND FINLAND) TAKE SAME POSITION. ACCORDING MORTENSEN OF FONOFF, NORDICS FIND PROPOSAL ILL-PREPARED, LACKING SUFFICIENT TIME AND NOT LIKELY TO GAIN APPROVAL OF PARTIES INVOLVED. FURTHERMORE, MORTENSEN BELIEVES, ITALIANS PROBABLY MADE PROPOSAL PRIMARILY FOR DOMESTIC CONSUMPTION. (NOTE: WE PASSED SUBSTANCE STATE 211104 TO MORTENSEN AFTER WE HAD OBTAINED HIS INITIAL NEGATIVE REACTIONS BUT ABOUT TWO HOURS BEFORE HE RECEIVED DEFINITE NEGATIVE REACTIONS FROM OTHER NORDICS.)

COMMENT: MORTENSEN GAVE US IMPRESSION THAT NORDICS, WHO HAVE BEEN WORKING HARD IN RELIEF EFFORTS AND GENTLY ENCOURAGING POLITICAL SETTLEMENT OF PROBLEM, ANNOYED BY BELATED ITALIAN INTRUSION INTO

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PAGE 02 COPENH 04797 231512Z

NIGERIAN ARENA FOR WHAT DESCRIBED AS "SHOW PURPOSES ONLY."
WOODBURY

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Pol 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

31

CONFIDENTIAL 612

PAGE 01 THE HA 04828 221431Z

53
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 IH-02 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12
UCF-05 UPW-01 AID-28 SR-01 ORM-03 SCS-04 SCA-01

ACDA-18 RSR-01 /178 W
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P R 221340Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4891
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
RUFHAU/AMEMBASSY VIENNA 132
AMEMBASSY ROME
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L THE HAGUE 4828

SUBJECT: NIGERIA-BIAFRA: YEAR END TRUCE

REF: STATE 210783 *12-22-69*

①
1. WHEN ITALIAN EMBASSY APPROACHED FONOFF WITH
TRUCE PROPOSAL (REFTEL), HUYDECOPER INQUIRED
WHETHER THIS FORMAL REQUEST TO CONVENE HAGUE GROUP.
RESPONSE WAS "FUZZY", AS EMBASSY APPARENTLY NOT
INSTRUCTED ON THIS POINT.

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*The Hague - 4828
12-22-69*

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 THE HA 04828 221431Z

2. HUYDECOPER TOLD US HE COULD DO LITTLE DEC 22
BECAUSE OF PREOCCUPATION WITH CURRENT PARLIAMENTARY
DEBATE ON BIAFRA. EMPHASIZED THAT GON CONTINUES
FAVOR TRUCE PROVIDED IT "IMPARTIAL". RECOGNIZED
THAT RECENT GOWON STATEMENT MADE UNLIKELY TRUCE
ACCEPTANCE BY FMG.

3. HUYDECOPER WILL INFORM US AS SOON AS HE LEARNS
WHETHER ITALIANS WANT HAGUE GROUP CONVENED. GP-3. BOVEY

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Authority	VND 950503
By	MN NARA Date 10/3/05

66

POL 27-14 BIAFRA NIGERIA
Department of State

TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL 592

PAGE 01 ADDIS 05517 221329Z

51
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 UCF-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20

USIA-12 AID-28 ACDA-18 SR-01 ORM-03 RSR-01 172 W

079754

R 221040Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1847
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMCONSUL ASMARA

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 5517

SUBJECT: NIGERIA

REFERENCE: ADDIS 5483

1. NIGERIAN AMB SANU DEC 21 DEPARTED ADDIS UNDER INSTRUCTIONS RETURN HOME FOR CONSULTATIONS. IN HASTILY CALLED AIRPORT MEETING WITH PRESS SAID HIS GOVERNMENT QTE QUITE CONCERNED UNQTE ABOUT FAILURE ADDIS TALKS. SAID WHEN INITIAL ARRANGEMENTS MADE TALKS MEANT TO BE SECRET AND HELD OUTSIDE ADDIS. SAID UNFORTUNATE ARRANGEMENTS BECAME PUBLICLY KNOWN AND OJUKWU MADE STATEMENT REQUIRING FMG CLARIFICATION WITH YEG. SANU EVASIVE ABOUT LENGTH STAY PLANNED LAGOS, BUT SAID FMG WILLING SEND DELEGATION TO ADDIS EARLY JAN AND EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE OF FMG IN HIM. SAID QTE I STILL HOPE REBELS WILL FIND POSSIBLE ACCEPT HIS AUTHORITY AND CHAIRMANSHIP OF TALKS UNQTE. (PREVIOUSLY SENT BY FOA.)

2. WHEN AMBASSADOR SAW KETEMA LATE DEC 20 HE SAID HIM FELT HE HAD BEEN MISLED BY BAD FAITH BOTH PARTIES IN NEGOTIATIONS. NEITHER REALLY INTERESTED IN ENDING THE WAR. KETEMA SAID FORTUNATELY FOR FMG BIAFRANS HAD FAILED HANDLE THEIR PRESENCE AND ABSENCE OF FEDERALS IN ADDIS IN MANNER TO SQUEEZE FULL PRO-PAGANDA IMPACT. IF BIAFRANS HAD STAYED AND CONTINUED PRESS HIM

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PAGE 02 ADDIS 05517 221329Z

TO PRODUCE FMG DELEGATION, FMG WOULD HAVE HAD EVEN WORSE PRESS AND PUBLIC REACTION IN EUROPE AND U.S. THAN HE NOW EXPECTED. KETEMA DOES NOT EXPECT MILITARY SOLUTION BUT THINKS MORE TIME MUST PASS AND MORE LIVES MUST BE LOST BEFORE CYNICAL LEADERSHIP BOTH PARTIES WILL SIT DOWN FOR NECESSARY NEGOTIATIONS. HE INDICATED IEG HAVE NO INTENTION TAKE ANY ACTION IMMEDIATE FUTURE, BUT THAT HE ASSUMES HIM WILL CONTINUE TO TRY PERSONALLY.

3. MAMMO TOLD AMBASSADOR DEC 19 HE THOUGHT FMG MISLED IEG. ASSUMED FAILURE FMG SEND DELEGATION TO ADDIS REFLECTED SUCCESS OF HAWKS IN FMG IN OVERRULING GOWON IN FAVOR OF MILITARY SOLUTION. SAID IT OBVIOUS ANY SUCCESS IN ARRANGING TALKS WOULD HAVE TO BE BASED ON FEDERAL AGREEMENT TO MUTE OAU AUSPICES OF TALKS, AND FMG GAVE THAT AGREEMENT AT ONE STAGE IN DISCUSSION. WITH ALL TALK ABOUT NO PRECONDITIONS FOR ADDIS TALKS, FEDERAL POSITION ON OAU QUESTION STRANGE. SAID IEG FED UP WITH BOTH SIDES IN CONFLICT, BUT HE FELT FMG DESERVED WORLD OPINION BACKLASH IT WAS GOING TO SUFFER. ALSO NOTED BIAFRA WOULD NOW BE ABLE TAKE ARMS FROM PORTUGAL AND SOUTH AFRICA WITH LESS AFRICAN CRITICISM. WALL

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0518

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA - NIGERIA

Department of State

TELEGRAM

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CONFIDENTIAL 514

PAGE 01 ADDIS 05525 230522Z

17
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 UCF-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20

USIA-12 AID-28 UPW-01 RSR-01 /151 W

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R 221545Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1854
INFO AMEMBASSY FREETOWN
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMCONSUL ASMARA

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 5525

SUBJECT: NIGERIA

1. BRITISH EMBOFF TODAY PROVIDED COPY FOLLOWING STATEMENT DEC 20
BY E. J. KARGBO, DEPUTY MINDEF SIERRA LEONE AND SPECIAL ENVOY OF
PRIMIN TO HIM ON NIGERIA PEACE TALKS MATTERS. KARGBO GAVE STATE-
MENT TO BBC AND REUTERS WITH EMBARGO UNTIL MIDNIGHT DEC 20. ALTHOUGH
STATEMENT PRESUMED PUBLIC DOMAIN, NO PUBLICATION YET NOTED.

QTE IT IS FACT OAU CONCOM HAS MANDATE FROM OAU GENERAL ASSEMBLY
CONDUCT TALKS ON NIGERIA/BIAFRAN CONFLICT WITHIN CONTEXT NIGERIA.
NOTWITHSTANDING THIS SINCE TWO PARTIES CONCERNED AGREED "HOLD
MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATIONS WITHOUT ANY PRE-CONDITIONS", ONE WOULD
HAVE THOUGHT THAT OAU RESOLUTION ABOUT NEGOTIATION WITHIN
CONTEXT "ONE NIGERIA" SHOULD DEFINITELY FADE OUT OF PICTURE.

PART OF MY MISSION TO GET ASSURANCE FROM HIM OAU RESOLUTION
SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED STAND IN WAY TWO PARTIES WHO IT SEEMS THEN
PREPARED NEGOTIATE WITHOUT PRE-CONDITIONS. THIS ASSURANCE I RECEIVED
AND COMMUNICATED TO MY PRIME MINISTER ON 12TH INSTANT, DAY I ARRIVED
AT ADDIS.

MY HUMBLE VIEW NO ORGANIZATION COULD BE MORE CONCERNED ABOUT
OR BE MORE INVOLVED THIS CONFLICT THAN TWO PARTICIPANTS AND SINCE

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PAGE 02 ADDIS 05525 230522Z

TWO PARTICIPANTS AGREED TALK WITHOUT PRE-CONDITIONS, THEY SHOULD NOT ONLY BE ALLOWED DO SO, BUT OUGHT BE HELPED DO SO BY ALL INTERESTED PERSONS, GOVERNMENTS OR ORGANIZATIONS. VIEW HELD SOME QUARTERS THAT PEACE TALKS COULD NOT BE HELD OUTSIDE AUSPICES OAU COMMITTEE AND ITS MANDATE, WITH DUE RESPECT, IN ITSELF PRE-CONDITION.

REGRET TALKS DID NOT TAKE PLACE BUT SINCERELY HOPE THIS TRAGIC WAR MUST BE ENDED AND CONDITIONS CREATED FOR NEGOTIATIONS FOR JUST AND HONORABLE SETTLEMENT. SIERRA LEONE REMAINS, AS ALWAYS, READY WELP BRING ABOUT PEACE IN THAT TROUBLED PART AFRICA. UNQTE.

2. IN TALK WITH BRIT EMBOFF BEFORE DEPARTURE DEC 20 KARGBO EMPHASIZED HIS MISSION BEHALF SIACA STEVENS SEEK HIM ASSURANCES ONLY ON WHETHER OAU RESOLUTION GOVERNED TALKS, NOT WHETHER HIM ACTING CAPACITY OAU CONCOM CHAIRMAN. KARGBO QTE REGRETTE UNQTE BIAFRAN STATEMENT AS DELEGATION DEPARTED ADDIS AND FELT BIAFRANS WOULD HAVE GAINED BIGGER PROPAGANDA VICTORY IF HAD REMAINED ADDIS. SAID SIERRA LEONE STILL HOPED KEEP HOPE FOR TALKS ALIVE. CONCLUDED ADDIS TALKS FAILED BECAUSE NEITHER SIDE YET SERIOUS ABOUT NEGOTIATIONS.
WALL

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24

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Department of State
TELEGRAM

POL 27-14 Biafra -
211104
Nigeria
355

22 DEC 69 22 05Z

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy ROME PRIORITY
INFO: Amembassy ABIDJAN PRIORITY
Amembassy ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
Amembassy BERN PRIORITY
Amembassy BONN PRIORITY
Amembassy BRUSSELS PRIORITY
Amembassy COPENHAGEN PRIORITY
Amembassy DUBLIN PRIORITY
Amembassy THE HAGUE PRIORITY
Amembassy HELSINKI PRIORITY
Amembassy OSLO PRIORITY
Amembassy OTTAWA PRIORITY
RUDKLM/Amembassy STOCKHOLM PRIORITY
Amembassy VIENNA PRIORITY
USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

State:-----

REF : State 210783

POL 27-14 Biafra - Nigeria

1. Italian Embassy has given us response questions raised reftel. They propose the truce appeal should be made privately and only later made public if becomes appropriate. Would call only for suspension of hostilities, would not raise relief issues. Italians envisage members of Hague group acting separately in appeals through HIM, Ivory Coast and Gabon. Have requested urgent US response.
2. We informing Italian Embassy here (Rome)

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AF/SN:WHBrubeck:bjr

CLEARANCES:

DRAFTING DATE

12/22/69

TEL. EXT.

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APPROVED BY:

AF/SN:WHBrubeck

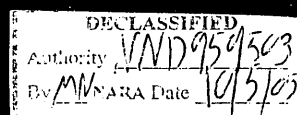
S/PC - Mr. Ruser(subst.)

U/CF - Amb. Ferguson(subst.)

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FORM DS-322
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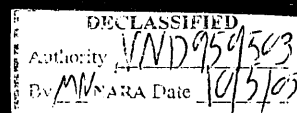
Page 2

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	<p>should review soonest with fonoff) of following US responses. We support truce appeal and prepared to associate ourselves with it if suitably broad group of countries (majority of Hague group at minimum) are involved. However we believe appeal should be made, in first instance, only to HIM. It should be made by one government (not rpt not USG) in form agreed by and on behalf of group. Other members of group, including US, could then express to IEG fonoff their support of collective appeal. We believe approaches to other African countries at time of initial appeal might complicate and prejudice project. Such further approaches by members of group should not rpt not be decided until after HIM reaction to first approach is ascertained.</p> <p>3. Request Embassy Rome ascertain whether GOI ^{contemplates} contemplates Vatican involvement. Also wish to know details of involvement QTE humanitarian organizations END QTE</p>		
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4-68

0522





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Department of State
TELEGRAM

Page 3

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ACTION:

mentioned in original GOI proposal (Deptel 210783).
4. For all non African addressee; request you inform
fonoff of GOI approach and our response and report
urgently any response by host government to GOI
proposal. Per reftel, African posts should not rpt
not discuss with host ~~gov~~ governments.

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY:

DRAFTING DATE

TEL. EXT.

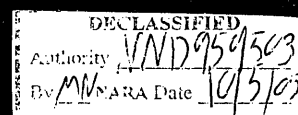
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4-68

0523



(5)



Pol 21-14 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 858

PAGE 01 PARIS 19147 201357Z

47
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 IO-13
UCF-05 UPW-01 AID-28 SR-01 ORM-03 SCS-04 SCA-01 RSR-01
/160 W

P R 291330Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9539
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON

C O N F I D E N T I A L PARIS 19147

SUBJECT: NIGERIA/BIAFRA TALKS

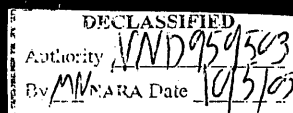
1. QUAI DEPUTY DIRECTOR NON-FRANCOPHONE AFRICA (CARRAUD) TOLD EMBOFF EVENING DECEMBER 18 THAT QUAI DISTRESSED AT COLLAPSE OF PROJECTED ADDIS TALKS BETWEEN FMG AND BIAFRANS. IN ASSESSING RESPONSIBILITY, CARRAUD JUDGED HIM HAD BEEN INDISCREET IN HIS PUBLIC STATEMENTS (ADDIS 5482) BUT INTERESTINGLY ALSO CRITICIZED OJUKWU FOR PUBLICIZING ASSURANCES HE ALLEGEDLY RECEIVED FROM EMPEROR RE NON-OAU AUSPICES OF NEGOTIATIONS.

2. CARRAUD, LIKE AMBASSADOR LUCET (STATE 209536), REITERATED GOF HOPE SOMETHING COULD BE STARTED UP AGAIN BUT WAS NOT OPTIMISTIC ABOUT EARLY RESULTS. HE MADE NO SUGGESTIONS RE CHANNEL GOF LIKELY TO ENCOURAGE FOR NEXT ATTEMPT AT TALKS.
GP-3,
SHRIVER

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32

0524





POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 063

PAGE 01 LAGOS 10860 211207Z

16
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 (RSR-01) UCF-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 AID-28 UPW-01 SCS-04 SCA-01 SR-01

ORM-03 /160 W

075816

P 211110Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 482
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 10860

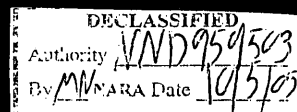
SUBJ: NIGERIA-BIAFRA - YEAR END TRUCE

REF: STATE 210783 *K/C*

1. WOULD AGREE WITH DEPARTMENT THAT CHANCES OF EFFECTIVE YEAR
END TRUCE ARE ALMOST NIL. FMG WOULD IN FACT PROBABLY REJECT ANY
SUCH PROPOSAL OUT OF HAND: ONLY LAST FRIDAY GOWON, ACCORDING TO

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0525





Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 10860 211207Z

USUALLY RELIABLE NEW NIGERIAN, TOLD PATIENTS AT MILITARY HOSPITAL IN KANO THAT FEDERAL TROOPS WOULD OBSERVE NO RPT NO CHRISTMAS TRUCE AND THAT THERE WOULD BE NO CEASE FIRE.

2. AS DEPARTMENT KNOWS, FEDERAL FORCES HAVE RECENTLY MADE SIGNIFICANT MILITARY GAINS AND BIAFRANS ARE HARD-PRESSED IF NOT IN DESPERATE SITUATION. ANY TRUCE OR CEASE-FIRE APPEAL AT THIS TIME, WHATEVER MAY BE TRUE MOTIVATIONS OF ITS SPONSORS, WILL BE VIEWED BY GOVERNMENT HERE AS TRANSPARENT EFFORT TO AID THE ENEMY.

3. I RECOGNIZE DIFFICULTIES OF REFUSING TO JOIN ALMOST ANY KIND OF APPEAL FOR PEACE, BUT GIVEN THE TRULY NEGLIGIBLE CHANCES OF SUCCESS FOR THIS ONE, I HOPE DEPARTMENT WILL GIVE SOME WEIGHT TO POINT MADE IN PRECEDING PARAGRAPH.
TRUEHEART

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0526

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Authority	VND 954503
By	MW NARA
Date	10/3/05



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POL 27-14 Biafra-
 Nigeria
 210783

44 B

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ACTION: Amembassy ROME PRIORITY

20 DEC 69 21 25Z

INFO : Amembassy ABIDJAN PRIORITY
 Amembassy ADDIS ABABA
 Amembassy BERN
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 Amembassy COPENHAGEN
 Amembassy DUBLIN
 Amembassy THE HAGUE
 Amembassy HELSINKI
 Amembassy LAGOS
 Amembassy LIBREVILLE
 Amembassy OSLO
 Amembassy OTTAWA
 Amembassy STOCKHOLM
 Amembassy VIENNA
 USMission GENEVA

210783

STATE

SUBJECT: Nigeria-Biafra - ~~XXXXXX~~ Year End Truce

1. Italian Embassy has asked us urgently for reaction to following
 are
 GOI proposal. They are addressing same inquiry to all Hague Group
 members.

2. Italians propose a collective statement by Hague Group members
 and U.S. appealing to two sides to accept a year-end truce December 23-
 January 6. Appeal would be "conveyed through" Emperor and principal
 humanitarian organizations, presumably JCA and ICRC. They also

DRAFTED BY: AF/SN:WHBrubeck:dal	DRAFTING DATE 12-20-69	TEL. EXT. 21185	APPROVED BY: AF - David D. Newsom
------------------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	--------------------------------------

CLEARANCES:

U/CF - Mr. Foley (substance)
 s/s - O: Nelson C. Ledsky

The Under Secretary (substance)

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FORM DS-322
 4-68

0527

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 Authority VND 954503
 By MN NARA Date 10/3/05



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PAGE TWO TO ROME

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION:

Houphouet
considering asking ~~/XXXXXXXX~~ and Bongo to urge Biafra to accept.
If other governments agree to proposal, Italians prepared approach
Houphouet
Emperor, ~~/XXXXXXXX~~ and Bongo on behalf of Group.
3. We have informed Italians that we sympathetic in principle to
truce appeal but requested clarification on several points which
they seeking urgently. Specifically, we asking whether they con-
template simply appeal for suspension hostilities or appeal for
relief truce; if latter, what are details of proposal? What do
i.e. what role for Emperor envisaged;
they mean by "convey through" preliminary understanding is that
merely
appeal would be addressed by Group to the two parties/~~XX~~ transmitting
via Emperor and relief organizations. At what point do they propose
make appeal public?
4. If ambiguities successfully resolved, we are disposed to join
in appeal. Our estimate is that chances genuine cooperation ~~between~~
in such truce effort
two sides/almost nil but/~~gesture~~ nevertheless worth making.
5. For all except African addressees: Request you consult host
government urgently conveying our views and asking what response

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PAGE THREE TO ROME

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ACTION:

they making to GOI inquiry. Do not repeat not wish subject raised
with African host governments but would appreciate comments of
African addressee posts.

GP-3

END

[ROGERS]

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DRAFTING DATE

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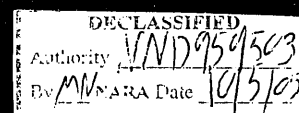
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37



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210545

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ACTION: Amembassy ABIDJAN, PARIS, LONDON, ADDIS ABABA, USUN

19 DEC 69 23 01Z

STATE: _____

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EXDIS

CODE ROOM: Please repeat Lagos 10757 dated December 17,
to the above post.10757
10757-12-17-69

210545

[ROGERS]

(5)

DRAFTED BY:

AF/SN:HKWalker:bjr

DRAFTING DATE

12/18/69

TEL. EXT.

29311

APPROVED BY:

AF/SN - Mr. Brubeck

CLEARANCES:

S/S - O'rich m

AF -

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0530

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 Authority VND 954/503
 By MN-ARA Date 10/3/03

The seal of the United States Department of State is located at the top center of the document. It features an eagle with wings spread, perched on a shield with vertical stripes. Above the eagle's head is a constellation of stars. The words "DEPARTMENT OF STATE" are arched over the top, and "UNITED STATES OF AMERICA" is arched along the bottom.

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0531

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Authority VND 959503
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

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PAGE 02 STATE 210545

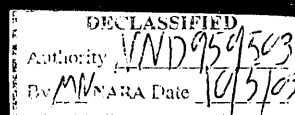
WE PROCEEDED IMMEDIATELY TO SAY WITH GREAT FIRMNESS THAT HE WAS PERSONALLY CONVINCED THAT OJUKWU DID NOT INTEND TO CARRY ON SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS. THE TIME HAD COME TO PUT AN END TO "PROPAGANDA EXERCISES." THE FMG HAD ASKED FOR CLARIFICATION OF THE EMPEROR'S INTENTIONS. "IF HE REPLISE THAT THE TALKS ARE UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE OAU, WE WILL GO; IF NOT, WE WON'T. IT IS AS SIMPLE AS THAT. WE WILL NOT CAPITULATE TO OJUKWU." I SAID THAT WE DID NOT SEE IT AS A QUESTION OF CAPITULATION BUT RATHER ONE OF MAINTAINING A PUBLIC STANCE WHICH WOULD NOT BE MISUNDERSTOOD BY THOSE UNFAMILIAR WITH THE FINE POINTS. ARIKPO SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THAT THIS WAS OUR VIEW BUT THAT THE FMG HAD A DUTY TO ITSELF AND TO ITS FRIENDS IN THE OAU TO UPHOLD THE POSITION OF THAT ORGANIZATION.

2. WITH ARIKPO MAKING OBVOUS SIGNS OF COLLECTING HIS PAPERS TO HEAD FOR THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING, THERE WAS NO OPPORTUNITY TO PURSUE THE DISCUSSION, BUT I VERY MUCH DOUBT IT WOULD HAVE BEEN PROFITABLE TO DO SO IN ANY CASE. IN PARTING ARIKPO CONFIRMED THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO REPLY FROM ADDIS TO THEIR REQUEST FOR CLARIFICATION. HE PROMISED TO LET ME KNOW IF THERE WERE ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

3. WE ARE OF COURSE COORDINATING CLOSELY WITH BRITISH HIGH COMMISSION. GLASS WAS SEEING GOWON WITH LORD CARRINGTON AT ABOUT THE SAME TIME AS I CALLED ON ARIKPO. THIS WAS A FAREWELL CALL BY CARRINGTON AND GLASS HAD NO NEW INSTRUCTIONS, THOUGH HE DID INTEND TO USE ANY OPPORTUNITY PRESENTED TO SEEK CLARIFICATION OF THE FMG POSITION. I WILL BE COMPARING NOTES WITH HIM LATER TODAY. GP-2
TRUEHEART
UNQUOTE.
ROGERS

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0532



37



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ACTION: Amembassy ABIDJAN, PARIS, LONDON, ADDIS ABABA, USUN

19 DEC 69 23 01Z

STATE: _____

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CODE ROOM: Please repeat Lagos 10776, dated December 17, to the above post.

210544

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY: HKW	DRAFTING DATE: 12/18/69	TEL. EXT.: 29311	APPROVED BY: WFB Brubeck
AF/SN: HKWalker:bjr			AF/SN - Mr. BARR

CLEARANCES:
S/S - o - Rich pr

AF -

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By: MN/ARA Date: 10/3/03

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POL 2714 BIAFRA-NISEM
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 296

PAGE 01 STATE 210544

85
ORIGIN SS-10

INFO OCT-01 /011 R

66640
DRAFTED BY: AF/SN:HK WALKER
APPROVED BY: AF/SN:MR. BRUBECK
S/S-O:RICH
AF

070235

R 192301Z DEC 69
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

SECRET STATE 210544

EXDIS

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION SECSTATE FROM LAGOS DATED DEC. 17:

QUOTE:

LAGOS 10776

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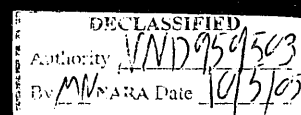
S/S PASS ADDIS ABABA, LONDON, PARIS AND USUN

REF LAGOS 10757

1. BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER GLASS HAS FILLED ME IN ON HIS AND LORD CARRINGTON'S MEETING WITH GENERAL GOWON WHICH TOOK PLACE AT ABOUT SAME TIME AS MY TALK WITH ARIKPO (REFTEL). THEY FOUND GOWON A GOOD DEAL MORE RELAXED THAN ARIKPO ABOUT OJUKWU STATEMENT. HE TOOK THE LINE THAT IT WAS CHARACTERISTIC OF OJUKWU TO MAKE A PLAY OF THIS KIND DESIGNED TO PUT THE FMG AT A DISADVANTAGE AND MAKE IT

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0534



SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 210544

APPEAR THAT LATTER WAS CAPITULATING. GOWON ASSURED THEM THAT HE FULLY INTENDED TO SEND REPRESENTATIVES TO ADDIS. HE REPEATED HOWEVER, THAT FMG HAD NOT RECEIVED SPECIFIC INVITATION FOR ANY PARTICULAR DATE AND HAD ITSELF SUGGESTED SOME TIME AFTER FIRST OF YEAR HAVING IN MIND ILLNESS OF CHIEF ENAHORO, TURKISH STATE VISIT TO ADDIS AND CHRISTMAS HOLIDAYS.

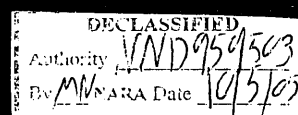
2. WHILE GOWON APPEARED NOT TO BE BACKING AWAY FROM TALKS HE WAS ALSO CONVINCED THAT OJUKWU DID NOT INTEND SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS. IN THIS CONNECTION HE ASKED CARINGTON WHAT HE THOUGH OJUKWU'S TERMS MIGHT BE, AND THE LATTER REPLIED THAT IT WAS PERFECTLY CLEAR TO HIM THAT OJUKWU WOULD SETTLE FOR NOTHING LESS THAN FULL SOVEREIGNTY AND CONTROL OVER THE ENTIRE FROMER EASTERN REGION. IN THAT CASE GOWON SAID THERE WAS NOTHING TO TALK ABOUT.

3. TO CARRINGTON'S QUESTION ABOUT THE MILITARY SITUATION GOWON SAID THAT HE HAD INSTRUCTED EVERYONE TO MAKE NO REFERENCE TO A "NEW OFFENSIVE," "FINAL OFFENSIVE" OR ANYTHING OF THE SORT. OPERATIONS WERE PROCEEDING METHODICALLY WITH COMMANDERS UNDER ORDERS TO CONSOLIDATE EACH ADVANCE BEFORE PROCEEDING FURTHER. HE HIMSELF HAD RECENTLY TALKED WITH COMMANDERS, WAS MAKING NO PREDICTIONS WOULD ONLY SAY THAT HE WAS "EXTREMELY ENCOURAGED" BY INFORMATION HE WAS RECEIVING.

4. LATER IN DAY GLASS WAS CALLED ON BY ETHIOPIAN AMBAS-
SADOR WHO CONFIRMED THAT NO SPECIFIC INVITATION HAD BEEN
SENT TO FMG. LATTER HAD SOME TIME AGO INDICATED THAT IT
WOULD BE READY FOR TALKS AFTER RAMADAN AND IEG HAD NEVER
GOTTEN AROUND TO SENDING INVITATION. ON OTHER HAND
EMPEROR COULD NOT BE SURE WHAT OJUKWU HAD BEEN TOLD SINCE
HE HAD BEEN OBLIGED TO COMMUNICATE WITH HIM THROUGH SIAGA
STEVENS. ETHIOPIAN WAS UNDERSTANDABLY CONCERNED THAT
EMPEROR WAS BEING PUT IN DILEMMA BY FMG REQUEST FOR CLARI-
FICATION. GLASS SUGGESTED TO HIM THAT BEST SOLUTION WOULD
BE FOR FMG TO MAKE PURPOSELY VAGUE STATEMENT TO EFFECT
THAT IT WAS SATISFIED WITH ASSURANCES OF EMPEROR AND
WITHOUT ACCEPTING OJUKWU STATEMENT WAS PROCEEDING TO SEND
REPRESENTATIVES TO ADDIS IMMEDIATELY. HE SUGGESTED
ETHIOPIAN AMBASSADOR SPEAK TO ARIKPO ALONG THESE LINES.

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TELEGRAM

PAGE 03 STATE 210544

5. HE DID SPEAK TO ARIKPO BY TELEPHONE AT ABOUT 4:30 PM. LATTER WAS NOT COMPLETELY NEGATIVE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD FMG AMBASSADOR IN ADDIS HAD RECEIVED SOME CLARIFICATION BUT HE WANTED TO HAVE THE EXACT TEXT BEFORE DECIDING WHAT TO DO.

7. COMMENT THE FMG POSITION IS PLAINLY A GOOD DEAL:
MORE FLEXIBLE TONIGHT THAN IT WAS THIS MORNING. I THINK
THERE IS A FAIR CHANCE BUT NO MORE THAT THEY WILL NOW
MOVE TO SEND SOMEONE TO ADDIS IN THE NEXT DAY OR TWO.
IN ANY CASE I FEEL QUITE SURE THAT FURTHER URGING WOULD
NOT BE HELPFUL.

TRUEHEART • UNQUOTE •
ROGERS

~~SECRET~~

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Authority VND 959503
By MW NARA Date 10/5/05

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210428

4/13

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ACTION: Amembassy ABIDJAN
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STATE: _____

EXDIS

REF : Lagos 10686,10725,10757,10760,10776
Addis Ababa 5392,5420,5438,5451,5466 and
State 208132

Reference messages repeated to you sent
FYI only and not rpt not to be discussed with
host governments. Regret inadvertent failure
to repeat Lagos messages promptly.

END

210428

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY: *HW* DRAFTING DATE: 12/19/69 TEL. EXT.: 29311 APPROVED BY: *MB*
AF/SN:HKWalker:bjr AF/SN - Mr. Brubeck

CLEARANCES:

AF - *HW*

S/S - Mr. Brown *HW*

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Date December 19, 1969		S/S-0 11	Dpty
PRINCIPALS		GEOGRAPHIC BUREAUS	
S	✓ 4	AF	✓✓ 20-21
U	✓ 5	ARA	
J	✓ 6	EA	
D	✓ 10	EUR	✓✓ 22-23
O		NEA	
C	✓ 7	OTHER AGENCIES	
S/CPR		White House	✓✓ 2-3
S/PC ✓✓ 12-13		Vice President	
S/PRS		Defense	
U/CF ✓ 14		State Rep	
U/PW		CIA	✓ 24
FUNCTIONAL BUREAUS		ACDA	
A		AID	
DG		AID/VN	
E		USIA	
H		NSA	
INR	✓✓ 15-16	Treasury	
IO	✓✓ 17-18		
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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

209942

19 DEC 69 UU 30Z

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ACTION: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA

STATE: AF 27-14 BN

REF : Addis 5482, State 20841, Lagos 10776

SUBJ : Nigeria

Contrary to Benard claims (Addis 5482), we
have only told French in general terms that we
approached FMG to urge participation in Addis talks.

END

[ROGERS]

DRAFTED BY: <u>AF/SN: AJWach:bjr</u>	DRAFTING DATE: 12/18/69	TEL. EXT.: 23410	APPROVED BY: <u>WHO 3 per</u> AF/SN - Mr. Brubeck
CLEARANCES:			

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Authority: VND 954503
By: MV NARA Date: 10/3/03

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210562

19 DEC 69 23 08Z

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA

STATE

REF: (a) STATE 206321, (b) Your Dec. 11 Letter
FOR AMBASSADOR FROM NEWSOM

1. Concur with home leave departure December 23.
2. Suggest problem raised ref (b) be discussed during your Washington consultation.

END

[ROGERS]

DRAFTED BY:

AF/E:DHShinn:joc

DRAFTING DATE

12/19/69

TEL. EXT.

22279

APPROVED BY:

AF - Mr. Smith

CLEARANCES:

AF/E - Mr. Holmes
AF/SN - Mr. Brubeck (para 1)
AF/EX - Mr. Bradford (subs)

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By MNARA Date 10/5/05

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UNCLASSIFIED 304

PAGE 01 ADDIS 05493 190842Z

10
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 CCO-00 SSO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 SS-20 AID-28 UCF-05 SR-01 ORM-03 RSR-01 NSCE-00

/142 W

065504

F 190750Z DEC 69
 FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1834
 INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
 AMEMBASSY LONDON
 AMEMBASSY PARIS
 USINFO WASHDC

UNCLAS: ADDIS ABABA 5493

DEPT PASS IBS/PCX DUTY EDITOR AND IBS/PA

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PEACE TALKS

REF: ADDIS 5483

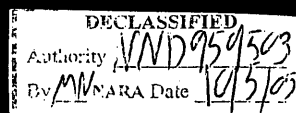
OFFICIAL PRESS THIS MORNING CARRIED FOLLOWING STATEMENT BY
 MOFA SPOKESMAN DATED DEC 18:

QTE BROADCASTS EMANATING FROM 'RADIO BIAFRA' IN THE LAST TWO
 DAYS HAVE ASSERTED THAT THE CURRENT ARRANGEMENTS FOR PEACE
 TALKS ON THE NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR WERE OUTSIDE THE CONTEXT OF
 THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY (OAU). THE SAME VIEW WAS
 ALSO ASSERTED BY MR. PIUS OKIGWE WHO HAD COME TO ADDIS ABABA
 LEADING A DELEGATION FROM THE FORMER EASTERN REGION OF NIGERIA
 FOR THE PEACE TALKS.

AS IT WAS VERY CLEAR FROM THE ACTIVITIES LEADING TO THE ARRANGE-
 MENT, THERE WAS NO AGREEMENT TO CONDUCT THE NEGOTIATIONS OUTSIDE
 THE CONTEXT OF THE OAU. THE PARTIES HAD AGREED TO MEANINGFUL
 NEGOTIATIONS WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS. THE PARTIES HAD ALSO AGREED

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Addis Ababa 5493
12-19-69



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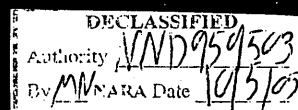
PAGE 02 ADDIS 05493 190842Z

ON THE NIAMEY AGENDA AS CONTAINING THE ITEMS FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. THERE WAS NEVER ANY THOUGHT LET ALONE AGREEMENT THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE CONDUCTED OUTSIDE THE CONTEXT OF THE OAU OR THAT HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY THE EMPEROR WOULD NOT ACT AS THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE ON NIGERIA. HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR HAD EXPENDED A GREAT DEAL OF EFFORT TO BRING ABOUT, WITH THE HELP OF SOME DISTINGUISHED LEADERS OF AFRICA, THE ARRANGEMENT FOR PEACE TALKS IN ORDER TO END THE TRAGIC NIGERIAN CONFLICT WHICH HAD CAUSED SO MUCH SUFFERING TO INNOCENT MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN AND A GREAT DEAL OF DESTRUCTION TO THE WEALTH OF THE PEOPLE. HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THAT THE CONFLICT CAN BE BROUGHT TO AN END BY NEGOTIATIONS. THE EMPEROR IS ALWAYS READY TO RENDER HIS SERVICES AS IN THE PAST. IT IS THE FERVENT HOPE OF HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR THAT THE TWO PARTIES IN THE SUPREME INTEREST OF THE PEOPLE, WILL BE ABLE TO MEET IN ADDIS ABABA AT THE EARLIEST TIME POSSIBLE TO BRING TO AN END THIS GRAVE AND SORROWFUL TRAGEDY.

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 10841 191808Z

47
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12

UPW-01 UCF-05 AID-28 SCSE-00 SCA-01 SR-01 ORM-03

RSR-01 /156 W

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P 191700Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 470
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE
USMISSION GENEVA

UNCLAS LAGOS 10841

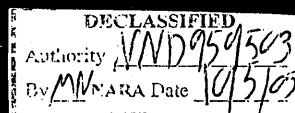
SUBJECT: FMG STATEMENT ON ADDIS ABABA TALKS

1. FMG ISSUED STATEMENT AFTERNOON DECEMBER 19, BLAMING OJUKWU FOR FAILURE TALKS TO BEGIN AND REITERATING FMG WILLINGNESS SEND REPRESENTATIVES TO QTE ANY PEACE TALKS ARRANGED UNDER SUSPICES OF THE OAU UNQTE.

2. FOLLOWING IS RELEVANT PORTIONS FMG STATEMENT:
(BEGIN TEXT) FMG NOTES WITH DEEP REGRET THAT THE RAINSTAKING EFFORT OF HIM, CHAIRMAN OF THE OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE TO ORGANISE PEACE TALKS BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FEDGOVT AND THE SECESSIONIST REGIME HAS ONCE AGAIN FAILED, EVEN BEFORE IT STARTED. THE SECESSIONIST LEADERS BEAR A GRAVE RESPONSIBILITY FOR RUTHLESSLY EXPLOITING EACH OCCASION FOR NEGOTIATIONS FOR SHORT-TERM POLITICAL AND

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 10841 191808Z

PROPAGANDA MANOEUVRES.

HEAD OF FMG HAD CONFIRMED TO THEIR EXCELLENCIES (HEAD OF OAU CONCOM GOVERNMENTS) HIS READINESS TO SEND DELEGATION TO HOLD PEACE TALKS WITH REBEL REPRESENTATIVES AT ANY TIME ANYWHERE UNDER THE AUSPICES OF OAU. FMG WAS AWAITING CONFIRMATION OF DATE CONVENIENT TO ALL PARTIES CONCERNED WHEN SECESSIONIST LEADER WAS CREDITED WITH SURPRISE STATEMENT THAT HIM HAD ASSURED HIM THAT HE WAS TAKING PERSONAL INITIATIVE AS AN AFRICAN LEADER. MR. OJUKWU ALSO ADDED THAT HIM HAD TOLD HIM THAT PROPOSED TALKS WERE TO BE HELD UNDER HIS OWN AUSPICES AND THAT HE WAS ACTING NOT AS CHAIRMAN OF THE OAU CONCOM OR EVEN AS AN AGENT OF OAU ITSELF.

THIS TRAGIC STATEMENT WAS A GROSS VIOLATION OF SOLEMN UNDERTAKING GIVEN BY BOTH SIDES TO THE EMPEROR AND OTHERS INVOLVED IN ARRANGING PEACE TALKS NOT TO ENGAGE IN PRE-CONFERENCE PUBLICITY. INTENTION OF THIS MISCHIEVOUS STATEMENT WAS MANIFESTLY TO EMBARRASS THE EMPEROR AND FEDGOVT, DISCREDIT OAU, AND SABOTAGE PROSPECTS FOR NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. IT IS SIGNIFICANT THAT REBEL LEADER ENSURED THAT HIS DELEGATION ARRIVED IN ADDIS ABABA BEFORE MAKING HIS DECLARATION. IT IS ALSO CLEAR, FROM TACTICS ADOPTED BY REBELS, THAT THEY HAD GONE TO ADDIS ABABA ONLY TO SABOTAGE PROPOSED PEACE TALKS FOR SUBSEQUENT EXPLOITATION IN SEEKING DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION FROM CERTAIN MISINFORMED GOVERNMENTS. THEY ALSO SOUGHT, THROUGH THIS MANOEUVRE, TO PROVIDE PRETEXT FOR THEIR FOREIGN SUPPORTERS - ENEMIES OF AFRICA TO INTENSIFY THEIR ILLEGAL DELIVERY OF ARMS.

FEDGOVT NOTES WITH SATISFACTION THAT IMPERIALGOVT OF ETHIOPIA HAS ALREADY CONFIRMED THAT EMPEROR HAD SUMMONED PEACE TALKS NOT IN A PERSONAL CAPACITY BUT AS CHAIRMAN OF OAU CONCOM ON NIGERIA. IT WILL NOT BE A SURPRISE IF, IN KEEPING WITH HIS WELL-KNOWN PRACTICE, THE REBEL LEADER CONTINUES TO DISTORT FACTS AND MAKE HIM TARGET OF HIS FALSE ACCUSATIONS. IN SPITE OF THIS LATEST DEMONSTRATION OF MR. OJUKWUS INTRANSIGENCE, THE FMG REMAINS WILLING TO SEND ITS REPRESENTATIVES TO ANY PEACE TALKS ARRANGED UNDER AUSPICES OF OAU. TRUEHEART

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By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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18 DEC 69 00 25Z

Origin

ACTION:

Info:

INFO: USUN NEW YORK

POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

OC/T please repeat LAGOS 10757 of December 17 EXDIS to the
above addressee.

209189

[ROGERS]

(1)

JJR

Drafted by:

IO:JJReid:mar

12/17

Tel. Ext.

22469

Telegraphic transmission and

classification approved by: S/S-O

Mr. Malone

gm

Clearances:

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FORM DS-322
8-65

0545

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Authority: VND 954503
By: MNARA Date: 10/5/05

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46
Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 STATE 209189

82
ORIGIN SS-10

INFO OCT-01 /011 R

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DRAFTED BY IO:JJREID
APPROVED BY S/S-O MR MALONE

R 180025Z DEC 69
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
INFO USMISSION USUN NY 8063

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S E C R E T STATE 209189

EXDIS

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION SECSTATE FROM LAGOS DEC 17, QTE:

LAGOS 10757

EXDIS

S/S PASS ADDIS ABABA, LONDON, PARIS AND USUN

FOR UNDER SECRETARY

REF: STATE 208132

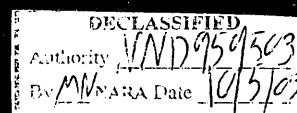
1. ARIKPO RECEIVED ME AT 10:00 A. M. THIS MORNING JUST PRIOR HIS DEPARTURE FOR EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING AT DODAN BARRACKS. HE READ YOUR MESSAGE WITH CARE AND ASKED THAT YOU BE INFORMED THAT HE UNDERSTOOD AND APPRECIATED THE POINTS YOU MADE AND WOULD BRING IT TO THE ATTENTION OF GENERAL GOWON. HE PROCEEDED IMMEDIATELY TO SAY WITH GREAT FIRMNESS THAT HE WAS PERSONALLY CONVINCED THAT OJUKWU DID NOT INTEND TO CARRY ON SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS. THE TIME HAD COME TO PUT AN END TO "PROPAGANDA EXERCISES." THE FMG HAD ASKED FOR CLARIFICATION OF THE EMPEROR'S INTENTIONS. "IF HE REPLIES THAT THE TALKS ARE UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE OAU, WE WILL GO; IF NOT, WE WON'T. IT IS AS SIMPLE AS THAT. WE WILL NOT CAPITULATE TO OJUKWU." I SAID THAT WE DID NOT SEE IT

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 STATE 209189

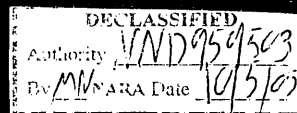
AS A QUESTION OF CAPITULATION BUT RATHER ONE OF MAINTAINING A PUBLIC STANCE WHICH WOULD NOT BE MISUNDERSTOOD BY THOSE UNFAMILIAR WITH THE FINE POINTS. ARIKPO SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THAT THIS WAS OUR VIEW BUT THAT THE FMG HAD A DUTY TO ITSELF AND TO ITS FRIENDS IN THE OAU TO UPHOLD THE POSITION OF THAT ORGANIZATION.

2. WITH ARIKPO MAKING OBVIOUS SIGNS OF COLLECTING HIS PAPERS TO HEAD FOR THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING, THERE WAS NO OPPORTUNITY TO PURSUE THE DISCUSSION, BUT I VERY MUCH DOUBT IT WOULD HAVE BEEN PROFITABLE TO DO SO IN ANY CASE. IN PARTING ARIKPO CONFIRMED THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO REPLY FROM ADDIS TO THEIR REQUEST FOR CLARIFICATION. HE PROMISED TO LET ME KNOW IF THERE WERE ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

3. WE ARE OF COURSE COORDINATING CLOSELY WITH BRITISH HIGH COMMISSION. GLASS WAS SEEING GOWON WITH LORD CARRINGTON AT ABOUT THE SAME TIME AS I CALLED ON ARIKPO. THIS WAS A FAREWELL CALL BY CARRINGTON AND GLASS HAD NO NEW INSTRUCTIONS, THOUGH HE DID INTEND TO USE ANY OPPORTUNITY PRESENTED TO SEEK CLARIFICATION OF THE FMG POSITION. I WILL BE COMPARING NOTES WITH HIM LATER TODAY. GP-2
TRUEHEART
UNQTE
ROGERS

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The seal of the United States Department of State, featuring an eagle with a shield, holding an olive branch and arrows, with a constellation of stars above its head. The text "DEPARTMENT OF STATE" is at the top and "UNITED STATES OF AMERICA" is at the bottom.

POL 27-14 BIAFRA -
 NIGERIA
 Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 10796 181629Z

41
ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CCO-00 /046 W 061183

O 181550Z DEC 69 ZFF-1
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS:
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 449

S E C R E T LAGOS 10796

EXDIS

S/S PASS ADDIS ABABA, LONDON, PARIS AND USUN

REF: LAGOS 10776

1. BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER SAW ARIKPO AGAIN THIS MORNING RE FMG ATTENDANCE ADDIS TALKS. HE STRESSED PARTICULARLY THAT WILLINGNESS TO ENTER INTO TALKS ANYWHERE HAS BEEN VERY IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN BRITISH DEFENSE OF FMG POLICY. GLASS FOUND ARIKPO STILL INSISTING THAT IT WAS ESSENTIAL TO GET A CLARIFICATION FROM THE EMPEROR BEFORE FMG SENT THEIR TEAM. HE HAD SEEN THE TEXT OF THE NIGERIAN AMBASSADOR'S STATEMENT PROVIDED BY ME BUT FMG WAS STILL AWAITING A DIRECT MESSAGE FROM THE AMBASSADOR CLARIFYING THE EMPEROR'S POSITION. HE AGAIN TOOK THE LINE THAT TO GO TO ADDIS BEFORE RECEIVING SUCH CLARIFICATION WOULD BE TAKEN AS TACIT ACCEPTANCE OF OJUKWO'S POSITION AND THIS IN TURN WOULD RISK GRAVELY OFFENDING MEMBERS OF OAU ON WHOSE SUPPORT FMG DEPENDED.

2. GLASS REPEATED THAT TIME WAS IMPORTANT AND THAT DEMONSTRATED WILLINGNESS TO TALK WAS OF GREATEST IMPORTANCE TO FMG POSITION IN WORLD PUBLIC OPINION. ARIKPO PROMISED TO KEEP IN CLOSE TOUCH.

3. COMMENT: GOWON LEFT EARLY THIS MORNING FOR PREVIOUSLY PLANNED VISIT TO KANO AND IS NOT EXPECTED TO RETURN UNTIL SATURDAY. WE DO NOT CONCLUDE, HOWEVER, THAT SENDING OF TEAM MUST NECESSARILY AWAIT HIS RETURN, AS IT MAY BE THAT ARIKPO IS AUTHORIZED TO ACT ON THE BASIS OF A SUITABLE CLARIFYING MESSAGE FROM ADDIS. GP-2

TRUEHEART

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Date	12/18/69	S/S-0 11	Dpty
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J	✓ 6	EA	
D	✓ 7	EUR	
O		NEA	
G	✓ 10	OTHER AGENCIES	
S/CPR		White House	✓✓ 2-3
S/FC	✓✓ 12-13	Vice President	
S/FRS		Defense	
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NIGERIA

208132

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TELEGRAM

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ACTION: Amembassy ABIDJAN

STATE: _____

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CODE ROOM: Please repeat State 208132^{EXD/S} dated
December 16, to the above post.

208132

(1)

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PAGE 01 STATE 208132

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DRAFTED BY:AF/SN:HK WALKER
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AF
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R 192352Z DEC 69
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

070362

S E C R E T STATE 208132

EXDIS

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION LAGOS INFO ADDIS ABABA LONDON PARIS
USUN NEW YORK FROM SECSTATE DATED DEC. 16:

QUOTE:

STATE 208132

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y

CORRECTION OF MISSING PORTION LAST SENTENCE IN PARAGRAPH
NO. 4.

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM UNDER SECRETARY

REF: LAGOS 10725; LAGOS 10686; ADDIS 5445 NOTAL

1. REQUEST YOU SEEK APPOINTMENT ARIKPO AT EARLIEST POSSIBLE TIME AND CONVEY FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM UNDER SECRETARY RICHARDSON.

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PAGE 02 STATE 208132

2. USG HAS BEEN MUCH ENCOURAGED BY PROSPECT ADDIS TALKS UNDER HIM AEGIS AND BY FMG STATESMANLIKE AND CONSTRUCTIVE ATTITUDE IN AGREEING TO TALKS. UNDER SECRETARY HAS NOW READ WITH CONCERN CONFUSING CURRENT PRESS REPORTS RE PRESENT STATE ADDIS TALKS. REPORTS INDICATE BIAFRAN DELEGATION EN ROUTE BUT FEDERAL PARTICIPATION IN DOUBT. WE APPRECIATE THESE PRELIMINARY UNCONDITIONAL TALKS DO NOT MEET FMG DECLARED REQUIREMENTS FOR SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS. HOWEVER, WE HOPE THEY MIGHT LEAD TO MORE SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS AND FELT FMG TAKING WISE COURSE IN DEMONSTRATING FLEXIBILITY AND WILLINGNESS EXPLORE OPPORTUNITY TO MOVE TOWARD SERIOUS TALKS.

3. UNDER SECRETARY CONCERNED NOW THAT FMG WILL BE PUT PUBLICLY IN POSITION OF APPEARING RESPONSIBLE FOR FAILURE HIM'S EFFORT. UNDER SECRETARY IS SURE ARIKPO WILL APPRECIATE THAT FRIENDS OF NIGERIA WILL HAVE DIFFICULT TIME INTERNATIONALLY AND IN US EXPLAINING AND DEFENDING SUCH OUTCOME. HE IS CONCERNED THAT MUCH OF SYMPATHY AND UNDERSTANDING FMG ACHIEVED BY CONSTRUCTIVE ATTITUDE DAYLIGHT FLIGHT AGREEMENT MAY BE DISSIPATED BY SUCH AN OUTCOME. IN LIGHT USG PUBLIC STATEMENTS RE DAYLIGHT AGREEMENT CREDITING THE FMG FOR CONSTRUCTIVE ATTITUDE AND POINTING TO BIAFRAN FAILURE AGREE, APPEARANCE OF FMG RESPONSIBILITY FOR FAILURE ADDIS TALKS WOULD CREATE DIFFICULT SITUATION.

4. UNDER SECRETARY ALSO WISHES RECALL THAT FOLLOWING CONVERSATIONS ARIKPO HERE, HE HAS TALKED WITH FRENCH URGING THEM USE INFLUENCE BIAFRANS TOWARD NEGOTIATIONS. HE WANTS ARIKPO TO KNOW IN GREAT CONFIDENCE THAT HE BELIEVES FRENCH HAVE, IN FACT, BEEN HELPFUL IN GETTING BIAFRAN ACCEPTANCE ADDIS TALKS. OUR OWN ABILITY DEAL EFFECTIVELY WITH FRENCH WILL BE GREATLY WEAKENED IF TALKS DO NOT MATERIALIZE. HE WAS MOST ENCOURAGED BY TALK WITH ARIKPO HERE AND THIS MESSAGE IS IN SPIRIT OF THAT CONVERSATION AND IN THE BELIEF HE SHOULD CONVEY TO ARIKPO OUR CONCERN.

5. FYI WE UNDERSTAND HMG INSTRUCTING GLASS CONTINUE HIS EFFORTS WITH FMG AND ASSUME YOU COORDINATING WITH GLASS. ASSISTANT SEC NEWSOM CALLING IN FMG CHARGE UDOH TODAY, WILL CONVEY SUBSTANCE OF ABOVE AND INFORM UDOH UNDER SECRETARY'S MESSAGE GOING TO ARIKPO. END FYI.

ROGERS UNQUOTE. ROGERS

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TELEGRAM

Page 2 to PARIS

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ACTION:

Ambassador Lucet reaffirmed French interest in
arranging talks but added "it now looks as if we shall
have to start all over again."

[ROGERS]

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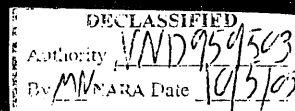
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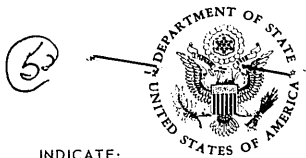
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4-68

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Department of State 209536
TELEGRAM

36 B 209536
18 Dec 69 21 00Z

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy PARIS
RPT INFO: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA
" LAGOS
" LONDON

Ref: Addis Ababa 5482

Subj: Nigeria/Biafra Talks

Continuing close contact with French Embassy Nigerian/
Biafran problem, Assistant Secretary Newsom informed
Dec. 18
Ambassador Lucet/of departure Biafran delegation and
expressed regret this development.

Making clear Department not seeking take sides in
issue, Newsom said USG had impression there was failure of
communications between Emperor and Nigerians with result
that sudden appearance Biafran delegation and Biafran
statements caught FMG by surprise. Department earnestly
hopes those interested in solution can continue efforts
bring two sides together and welcomes continuing French
interest in this objective.

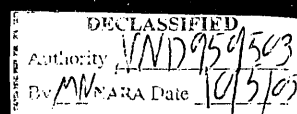
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DRAFTING DATE: 12/18/69
TEL. EXT.: 22530
APPROVED BY: AF - David D. Newsom
CLEARANCES: AF/SN - Mr. Brubeck/WB EUR/FBX - Mr. Long

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FORM DS-322
4-68

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POL 27-14 BIAFRAN NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 264

PAGE 01 ADDIS 05482 181416Z

51
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 UCF-05 CCO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10
P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 IO-13 UPW-01 SR-01 ORM-03
AID-28 RSR-01 /143 W ----- 060387

O 181325Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1824
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 5482

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PEACE TALKS

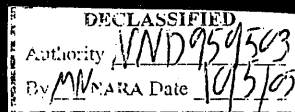
REF: ADDIS 2476

1. FRENCH AMB BENARD INFORMS US BIAFRAN DELEGATION DEPARTING
ADDIS 4:00 P.M. LOCAL TODAY. BIAFRANS HAVE CALLED PRESS CON-
FERENCE AT AIRPORT WHICH NOW IN PROGRESS; WILL REPORT DETAILS
LATER.

2. BENARD PRINCIPLE CONSIDERATION IMPELLING BIAFRANS PULL
OUT TODAY WAS TOAST OFFERED BY HIM AT STATE BANQUET HONORING
TURKISH PRESIDENT LAST EVENING, IN WHICH HIM QTE REITERATED
THAT AS REGARDS AFRICAN PROBLEMS, HE SINCERELY BELIEVES THAT
THEY CAN BE BEST SOLVED WITHIN AFRICAN FRAMEWORK. UNQTE
AFTER NOTING FIGHTING IN NIGERIA NOW IN THIRD YEAR, HIM SAID
DETERMINED FIND TOTAL AND LASTING SOLUTION IN HIS CAPACITY AS
CHMN OAU CONCOM. WENT ON TO EXPRESS PLEASURE TWO SIDES AGREED
SEND QTE VERY SOON UNQTE REPRESENTATIVES FOR TALKS IN ADDIS AND
EARNEST HOPE FORTHCOMING TALKS WILL CONTRIBUTE EFFECTIVELY
TOWARDS ACHIEVEMENT LASTING PEACE QTE IN OUR SISTER COUNTRY OF
NIGERIA UNQTE. (DRAWN FROM ACCOUNT PUBLISHED THIS MORNING
OFFICIAL ENGLISH-LANGUAGE ETHIOPIAN HERALD.)

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0555





Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 ADDIS 05482 181416Z

3. BENARD TOLD AMBASSADOR BIAFRANS CLAIMING HIM TOLD THEM DEC 16 OAU NOT INVOLVED IN PROPOSED PRELIMINARY TALKS. AFTER SEEING NEWSPAPER THIS MORNING BIAFRANS AGAIN WENT TO HIM, FONMIN KETEMA AND MOFA MINSTATE TESFAYE FOR CLARIFICATION BUT WERE TOLD OAU HAS TO BE INVOLVED NO MATTER HOW PUBLIC STATEMENTS PHRASED. BENARD SAID BIAFRANS FEEL DOUBLE-CROSSED AND THUS LEAVING.

4. BENARD ALSO TOLD AMBASSADOR HE FULL BRIEFED THROUGH FRENCH EMBASSY WASHINGTON RE AMBASSADOR TRUEHEART CONVERSATION WITH ARIKPO IN LAGOS DEC 17. APPRECIATE WASHINGTON AND LAGOS VERSION THOSE CONVERSATIONS. REQUEST REPORTS FUTURE CONVERSATIONS BEARING SUBSTANTIVELY ON PROBLEM BE REPEATED INFO ADDIS. HALL

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0556

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Authority	VND 959/503
By	MNARA
Date	10/3/05

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

*Addis Ababa 5490
12-18-69*

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PAGE 01 ADDIS 05490 181657Z

SI
ACTION USIE-00

INFO OCT-01 AF-12 CCO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 P-03 PRS-01 NSC-10

INR-07 RSR-01 RSC-01 /036 W 061331

O 181555Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1831

UNCLAS ADDIS ABABA 5490

PASS USIA/IBS DUTY EDITOR

REF: 5483

VOA CRAWFORD CALLS YOUR ATTENTION REFTEL TRANSMITTING FULL TEXT BIAFRAN AIRPORT STATEMENT ADDIS. WASHINGTON TELEX 440067 REPORTED OUT OF ORDER. WALL

(1)

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Authority VND 959/503
By MWA Date 10/3/05

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

*Chaka Abaka 5483
12-18-69*

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PAGE 01 ADDIS 05483 181530Z

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ACTION REF 18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 CCO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 JUSTE-00
CIAE-00 DODE-00 RM-05 IH-02 INRW-07 LH-03 NSAE-00 NSG-10
P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 ACDA-18 AID-28 SR-01 ORM-03
UCFH-05 RSR-01 1601W

040803

O 181400Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1825
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS

UNCLAS ADDIS ABABA 5483

DEPT PASS VOA

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PEACE TALKS

REF: ADDIS 5482

DR. P. N. C. OKIGBO AS LEADER BIAFRAN DELEGATION TO ADDIS ABABA
PEACE TALKS ISSUED FOLLOWING STATEMENT TO PRESS AT ADDIS AIRPORT
IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO DELEGATION'S DEPARTURE THIS AFTERNOON
THE BIAFRAN DELEGATION HAS CALLED THE ATTENTION OF THE GOVERN-
MENT OF ETHIOPIA TO THE NEWS REPORT ATTRIBUTED TO HIS IMPERIAL
MAJESTY TO THE EFFECT THAT HE HAD SPONSORED THE PROPOSED BIAFRA/
NIGERIA PEACE TALKS IN HIS CAPACITY AS CHAIRMAN OF THE OAU CONSUL-
TATIVE COMMITTEE AT A SUBSEQUENT MEETING THIS MORNING WITH HIS
EXCELLENCY THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF ETHIOPIA, THE BIAFRAN
DELEGATION REMINDED HIM THAT NEGOTIATIONS UNDER THE AUSPICES
OF THE OAU COMMITTEE AND ITS MANDATE WHICH HAD ALREADY PRE-
DETERMINED THE FORM OF SETTLEMENT VIOLATES THE PRINCIPLE
OF NEGOTIATIONS WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS HIS EXCELLENCY THE
FOREIGN MINISTER CONFIRMED THE NEWS REPORT AND SAID THAT HIS
IMPERIAL MAJESTY COULD NOT ACT OUTSIDE THE TERMS OF THE OAU
CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE EITHER NOW OR IN THE FUTURE IN THE

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PAGE 02 ADDIS 05483 181530Z

CIRCUMSTANCES, THE BIAFRAN DELEGATION WHICH CAME ON THE CLEAR ASSURANCE FROM HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY THAT HE WAS CONVENING THE TALKS PURELY IN HIS ROLE AS EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA AND AS AN AFRICAN LEADER, HAS NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO RETURN TO BIAFRA.

THE BIAFRAN DELEGATION REGRETS THAT THE NIGERIANS HAVE SO FAR FAILED TO TURN UP FOR THE TALKS. THE BIAFRAN DELEGATION BELIEVES THAT THIS TRAGIC WAR WHICH HAS BROUGHT NOTHING BUT SHAME TO AFRICAN AND HER LEADERSHIP MUST BE ENDED AND CONDITIONS CREATED FOR NEGOTIATIONS FOR A JUST AND HONOURABLE SETTLEMENT. BIAFRA REMAINS, AS ALWAYS, READY TO ENGAGE IN TALKS WITHOUT ANY PRECONDITIONS AND GENUINELY HOPES THAT ANY SPONSORING AGENCY WILL OBSERVE THIS PRINCIPLE TO FACILITATE MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATIONS.

THE BIAFRAN DELEGATION THANKS HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY AND THE GOVERNMENT OF ETHIOPIA FOR THEIR HOSPITALITY; WE WISH TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO CONVEY OUR APPRECIATION TO ALL OUR FRIENDS AND TO LOVERS OF PEACE ALL OVER THE WORLD WHO HAVE SHOWN INTEREST IN AND CONCERN FOR A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THE BIAFRA/NIGERIA WAR. UNQUOTE.
WALL

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By	MM NARA Date 10/3/05



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ACTION: AMEMBASSY LAGOS

INFO: AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY FREETOWN
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
USUN New York

STATE:
LIMDIS

SUBJECT: Nigeria/Biafra Negotiations

1. Assistant Secretary Newsom today called in Nigerian Charge Udoh to express our concern re reports FMG reconsidering earlier undertaking participate in Addis peace talks and to request clarification. ~~Udoh~~ Udoh said he not informed on present views and action Lagos and seeking guidance. Newsom informed Udoh we communicating/USG concern and hope FMG will attend talks ~~to Extaff Comm Arikpo~~ to Extaff Comm Arikpo. Udoh seemed confused about entire exercise and we not confident he will report exchange to Lagos.
2. Udoh subsequently ~~called~~ ^{called} Deptoff to say he had received guidance sent several FMG posts abroad. Guidance stated FMG seeking clarification from IEG regarding Ojukwu statement that peace talks not under OAU auspices or OAU resolution. According to guidance, Ojukwu quoted HIM as arranging talks in personal, not OAU, capacity. Guidance noted]

DRAFTED BY: *MB* AF/SN:WHBrubeck:gw
DRAFTING DATE: 12/16/69 TEL. EXT.: 23406 APPROVED BY: *Mr*
CLEARANCES: AF - Mr. Newsom

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FORM
4-68 DS-322

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By: MN/ARA Date: 10/5/05



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ACTION: AMEMBASSY LAGOS - Page 2

FMG has always insisted any talks be under OAU auspices and under OAU resolution.

End.

ROGERS

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POL 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria



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PAGE 01 DAR ES 03476 171136Z

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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 EUR-20 UCF-05 PM-05 NSC-10 SS-20 RSC-01
 L-03 P-03 PRS-01 USIA-12 INR-07 CIAE-00 DODE-00 RSR-01
 /120 W

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R 170601Z DEC 69
 FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7060
 INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
 AMEMBASSY LAGOS
 AMEMBASSY LONDON
 AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
 USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L DAR ES SALAAM 3476

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y FOR MRN ONLY VICE MRN 2476

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PEACE TALKS

REF: LAGOS 10686 NOTAL: NC

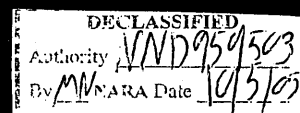
1. BIAFRAN REP IN EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICA, AUSTIN OKWU, TOLD NEWSMAN DEC 16 HE PLANNING PARTICIPATE IN ADDIS TALKS. PRESUMABLY GOING TO ADDIS TODAY. OKWU SAID HE NOT SOURCE OF AFP REPORT (PARA 4 REFTEL) THAT HE HAD CANCELLED TRIP TO ADDIS.

2. NAIROBI-BASED CORRESPONDENT FOR WASHINGTON POST MENTIONED TO US DEC 16 THAT MEMBER NIGERIAN HICOM NAIROBI TOLD HIM DEC 14 THAT ADDIS TALKS WOULD START ON 17TH. HICOM OFFICIAL BELIEVED OKWU WOULD NOT BE INCLUDED IN BIAFRAN DELEGATION AND EXPRESSED VIEW FMG WOULD CONSIDER OKWU'S PARTICIPATE AS SIGN BIAFRANS NOT PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY.

3. COMMENT: WHILE OKWU HAS BEEN VIGOROUS SPOKESMAN FOR BIAFRAN CAUSE HERE FOR SOME TIME, WE WOULD

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Dan G. Sullivan 3476
12-17-69



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PAGE 02 DAR ES 03476 171136Z

PRESUME THAT AT ADDIS TALKS HE WOULD HEW TO WHATEVER
LINE OWERRI LAID DOWN. GP-3
ROSS

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PAGE 01 ADDIS 05466 171351Z

41
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01
SS-20 IO-13 EUR-20 ACDA-18 UCF-05 UPW-01 CCO-00 SR-01
ORM-03 RSR-01 /133 W

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O 171315Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1811
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS ADDIS ABABA 5466

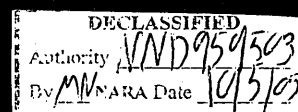
SUBJECT: NIGERIA: NIGERIAN AMBASSADOR PRESS STATEMENT

NIGERIAN AMBASSADOR SANU DEC 17 ISSUED FOL PREPARED STATE-
MENT ON QTE PRELIMINARY PEACE TALKS ON THE NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR
UNQTE TEXT ALSO FILED VIA TELEX BY VOA CORRESPONDENT:

QTE: ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM MY GOVT., I HAVE GONE THIS MORNING
TO SEE H.E. ATO KETEMA YIFRU, THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF THE
IMPERIAL ETHIOPIAN GOVT TO SEEK CLARIFICATION ON A STATEMENT
MADE BY MR. OJUKWU AND REPEATED BY HIS REPRESENTATIVE
DR. PLUS OKIGBO TO THE EFFECT THAT THE PROPOSED PRELIMINARY
PEACE TALKS ON THE NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR TO BE HELD HERE WAS
BEING ARRANGED BY HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY IN HIS PERSONAL CAPACITY
AS AN AFRICAN LEADER AND AS THE EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA. MEMBERS OF
THE PRESS ARE NO DOUBT AWARE THAT THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT HAS
ALWAYS REJECTED OFFERS OF MEDIATION FROM GOVTS AND HEADS OF STATE
WHICH WERE NOT TO BE CONDUCTED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE O.A.U.
THE LATEST OF THESE WAS THE SUGGESTION THAT FOUR NEUTRAL EURO-
PEAN COUNTRIES SHOULD MEDIATE. THE POSITION OF THE NIGERIAN
GOVT HAS NOT CHANGED IN THIS RESPECT. AFTER MY DISCUSSION
WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER, I AM SATISFIED THAT HIS IMPERIAL
MAJESTY IS ACTING IN HIS CAPACITY AS CHAIRMAN OF THE OAU
CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE ON NIGERIA AND WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF OAU
RESOLUTIONS ON NIGERIA.

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PAGE 02 ADDIS 05466 171351Z

I BELIEVE THAT THIS CLARIFICATION WILL BECOME CLEARER WHEN THE TALKS BEGIN. IN THIS CONNECTION, I WISH TO POINT OUT THAT THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE OAU WAS CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE PEACE TALKS. MEMBERS OF THE PRESS MUST HAVE BEEN FOLLOWING HIS TRAVELS IN WEST AFRICA IN THIS RESPECT.

I WISH TO REITERATE THAT THE NIGERIAN GOVT HAS FULL CONFIDENCE IN HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY AND THAT THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT HE WOULD CONDUCT THE TALKS IN THE BEST INTEREST OF AFRICA.

RECENT STATEMENTS BY THE REBELS SEEM TO SUGGEST THAT A NEW ELEMENT WHICH NOW MAKES THE TALKS ACCEPTABLE TO THEM HAS BEEN INTRODUCED. I REFER TO THE STATEMENT REGARDING TALKS WITHOUT PRE-CONDITIONS. OUR UNDERSTANDING OF THIS IS THAT THE NIGERIAN GOVT WILL NOT INSIST ON A PUBLIC RENUNCIATION OF SECESSION BY THE REBELS NOR WILL IT ACCEPT A CEASE-FIRE AS A PRE-CONDITION FOR TALKS. NEVERTHELESS THE NIGERIAN GOVT HAS ALWAYS INSISTED THAT TALKS, WHENEVER THEY TAKE PLACE, MUST BE ON THE BASIS OF A UNITED NIGERIA AND THE OAU RESOLUTION ON NIGERIA.

IT HAS ALSO BEEN STATED THAT THE BASIC AIM OF THE TALKS IS TO BRING THE HEAD OF THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVT, GENERAL GOWON AND MR. OJUKWU TOGETHER. THIS IS CERTAINLY NOT OUR UNDERSTANDING. THE HEAD OF THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT HAS STATED REPEATEDLY THAT NIGERIA IS ALWAYS READY FOR MEANINGFUL DISCUSSIONS WITH THE SECESSIONISTS. THE POSITION OF THE NIGERIAN GOVT REMAINS THE SAME. WITH THIS UNDERSTANDING I AM STILL HOPING THAT THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT WILL PARTICIPATE IN THE TALKS. UNQTE. SUBSEQUENT Q & A PERIOD ELICITED NO FURTHER CLARIFICATION. QUESTIONS ABOUT NIGERIAN INTENTIONS PARTICIPATION ADDIS TALKS MET BY REFERRAL BACK TO FINAL SENTENCE OF STATEMENT. HALL

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SECRET 272

PAGE 01 LONDON 10155 171951Z

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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 UCF-05 SS-20 INR-07 CIAE-00 DODE-00

NSC-10 PM-05 RSR-01 RSC-01 /088 W

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R 171720Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4820
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY PARIS

SECRET LONDON 10155

SUBJ: NIGERIA/BIAFRA NEGOTIATIONS

REF: STATE 208421

1. FCO (JOHN WILSON) WAS GREATLY APPRECIATIVE OF BRIEFING AUTHORIZED REFTEL. WILSON SAID HMG AND US WERE IN COMPLETE ACCORD ON SERIOUSNESS NIGERIAN NON-PARTICIPATION IN ADDIS TALKS. HE SAID FCO VIEW WAS THAT FMG "HAD JUST SUCCESSFULLY KICKED THE BALL TWICE THROUGH ITS OWN GOAL." HE ADDED THAT SITUATION MAY BE SAVED, IF FMG WILL PICK UP THE PIECES AND GET TO ADDIS IN A FEW DAY'S TIME. HE SAID BIAFRANS HAVE TAKEN A TRICK BUT THE GAME ISN'T OVER.

2. WILSON SAID FCO WAS AS SURPRISED OVER FMG INTRANSIGENCE AS ANYONE ELSE. HE REFERRED TO LAST WEEK'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE IN WHICH MINISTERS STATED UNEQUIVOCALLY THAT FCO WOULD GO "ANYWHERE, ANYTIME" TO HAVE TALKS WITH BIAFRANS. HOWEVER, WILSON SEEMED OPTIMISTIC THAT FEDS WILL EVENTUALLY SORT SITUATION OUT AND HE DISPLAYED MUCH LESS GLOOM THAN WAS SHOWN YESTERDAY BY TWO JUNIOR MEMBERS OF HIS OFFICE WHO SAW SEVERE, PERMANENT DAMAGE TO FMG POSITION IN WORLD OPINION. BOTH YESTERDAY AND TODAY FCO HAS STRESSED TO EMBOFF THAT, ON RECENT TRIP TO LAGOS, MAURICE FOLEY WAS GIVEN POSITIVE ASSURANCES OF FMG INTENTION TO ATTEND ADDIS CONFERENCE.
HUGHES

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12-17-69*

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Pol 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria

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CONFIDENTIAL 679

PAGE 01 DAR ES 03481 171035Z

18
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 UCF-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 IO-13
AID-28 UPW-01 EUR-20 RSR-01 /151 W

R 170905Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7062
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

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CONFIDENTIAL DAR ES SALAAM 3481

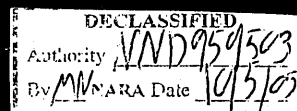
SUBJECT: TANZANIAN POSITION ON NIGERIA-BIAFRA PEACE
TALKS

1. TANU NATIONALIST EDITORIAL DECEMBER 17 SAYS NIGERIA-
BIAFRA TALKS SET TO START AT ADDIS. "REPRESENT AT LEAST
DIM HOPE FOR AFRICA." BIAFRA DESCRIBED AS EAGER TO
ENGAGE IN SEARCH FOR MEANINGFUL PEACE AND IS "ALL OUT
FOR POSITIVE BUSINESS."

2. COMMENT: WHILE STRESSING CONVICTION THAT BIAFRANS
ARE READY FOR SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS AND IMPLYING THAT
IT NOW UP TO FMG TO DEMONSTRATE ITS INTEREST IN PEACEFUL
SOLUTION, EDITORIAL IS MODERATE IN TONE AND CAREFULLY
AVOIDS TAKING POSITION ON POSSIBLE PEACE TERMS. WE
BELIEVE EDITORIAL REFLECTS NYERERE'S VIEW OF TALKS AND
CONSIDER IT UNLIKELY HE WILL INJECT SELF INTO SUBSTANCE
OF NEGOTIATIONS UNLESS IMPASSE IS REACHED AND HE
CONVINCED SOME ACTION ON HIS PART WOULD BE HELPFUL.
GP-3
ROSS

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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PAGE 01 LAGOS 10760 171218Z

12
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 AID-28 SR-01 ORM-03 SCA-01 SCSE-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10

P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 UPW-01 UCF-05 RSR-01

/156 W

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P 171055Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 423
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE
RUFHGVGXUSMISSION GENEVA 1861

UNCLAS LAGOS 10760

SUBJECT: NIGERIA SEEKS CLARIFICATION ON PROPOSED PEACE TALKS

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT (UNNECESSARY WORDS OMITTED) OF FMG
STATEMENT ISSUED LATE DECEMBER 16:

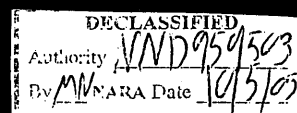
2. BEGIN TEXT. "THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS SEEKING
CLARIFICATION FROM IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT OF ETHIOPIA ON THE
MISCHIEVOUS STATEMENT CREDITED TO SECESSIONIST LEADER
ODUMEGWU OJUKWU THAT PROPOSED PEACE TALKS WITH REBELS
WOULD NOT BE HELD UNDER OAU AUSPICES OR UNDER TERMS OF
ITS RESOLUTION ON NIGERIA.

"THE SECESSIONIST LEADER ALLEGED THAT EMPEROR HAD REPLIED
THAT HE WAS TAKING PERSONAL INITIATIVE AS AN AFRICAN LEADER
AND WAS NOT ACTING AS AGENT OF THE OAU.

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 10760 171218Z

ZIT WILL BE RECALLED THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS ALWAYS
INSISTED ON HOLDING ANY PEACE TALKS WITH REBELS UNDER
AUSPICES OF OAU AND ITS RESOLUTION ON NIGERIAN UNITY."
END! TEXT.
TRUEHEART

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MMNARA Date 10/5/05

32

POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA



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SECRET 672

PAGE 01 LAGOS 10757 171028Z

16
ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 SSO-00 CCO-00 NSCE-00 /046 W

0526 12

O 171108Z DEC 69 ZFF-1
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 421

S E C R E T LAGOS 10757

EXD15

S/S PASS ADDIS ABABA, LONDON, PARIS AND USUN

FOR UNDER SECRETARY

REF: STATE 208132

1. ARIKPO RECEIVED ME AT 10:00 A. M. THIS MORNING JUST PRIOR HIS DEPARTURE FOR EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING AT DODAN BARRACKS. HE READ YOUR MESSAGE WITH CARE AND ASKED THAT YOU BE INFORMED THAT HE UNDERSTOOD AND APPRECIATED THE POINTS YOU MADE AND WOULD BRING IT TO THE ATTENTION OF GENERAL GOWON. HE PROCEEDED IMMEDIATELY TO SAY WITH GREAT FIRMNESS THAT HE WAS PERSONALLY CONVINCED THAT OJUKWU DID NOT INTEND TO CARRY ON SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS. THE TIME HAD COME TO PUT AN END TO "PROPAGANDA EXERCISES." THE FMG HAD ASKED FOR CLARIFICATION OF THE EMPEROR'S INTENTIONS. "IF HE REPLIES THAT THE TALKS ARE UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE OAU, WE WILL GO; IF NOT, WE WON'T. IT IS AS SIMPLE AS THAT. WE WILL NOT CAPITULATE TO OJUKWU." I SAID THAT WE DID NOT SEE IT AS A QUESTION OF CAPITULATION BUT RATHER ONE OF MAINTAINING A PUBLIC STANCE WHICH WOULD NOT BE MISUNDERSTOOD BY THOSE UNFAMILIAR WITH THE FINE POINTS. ARIKPO SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THAT THIS WAS OUR VIEW BUT THAT THE FMG HAD A DUTY TO ITSELF AND TO ITS FRIENDS IN THE OAU TO UPHOLD THE POSITION OF THAT ORGANIZATION.

2. WITH ARIKPO MAKING OBVIOUS SIGNS OF COLLECTING HIS PAPERS TO HEAD FOR THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING, THERE WAS NO OPPORTUNITY TO PURSUE THE DISCUSSION, BUT I VERY

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 10757 171028Z

MUCH DOUBT IT WOULD HAVE BEEN PROFITABLE TO DO SO IN ANY CASE. IN PARTING ARIKPO CONFIRMED THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO REPLY FROM ADDIS TO THEIR REQUEST FOR CLARIFICATION. HE PROMISED TO LET ME KNOW IF THERE WERE ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

3. WE ARE OF COURSE COORDINATING CLOSELY WITH BRITISH HIGH COMMISSION. GLASS WAS SEEING GOWON WITH LORD CARRINGTON AT ABOUT THE SAME TIME AS I CALLED ON ARIKPO. THIS WAS A FAREWELL CALL BY CARRINGTON AND GLASS HAD NO NEW INSTRUCTIONS, THOUGH HE DID INTEND TO USE ANY OPPORTUNITY PRESENTED TO SEEK CLARIFICATION OF THE FMG POSITION. I WILL BE COMPARING NOTES WITH HIM LATER TODAY. GP-2 TRUEHEART

NOTE: NOT PASSED ADDIS ABABA, LONDON, PARIS, USUN BY OC/T.

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 10776 171836Z

42
ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CCO-00 /046 W

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0 171800Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 433

S E C R E T LAGOS 10776

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S/S PASS ADDIS ABABA, LONDON, PARIS AND USUN

REF LAGOS 10757

1. BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER GLASS HAS FILLED ME IN ON HIS AND LORD CARRINGTON'S MEETING WITH GENERAL GOWON WHICH TOOK PLACE AT ABOUT SAME TIME AS MY TALK WITH ARIKPO (REFTEL). THEY FOUND GOWON A GOOD DEAL MORE RELAXED THAN ARIKPO ABOUT OJUKWU STATEMENT. HE TOOK THE LINE THAT IT WAS CHARACTERISTIC OF OJUKWU TO MAKE A PLAY OF THIS KIND DESIGNED TO PUT THE FMG AT A DISADVANTAGE AND MAKE IT APPEAR THAT LATTER WAS CAPITULATING. GOWON ASSURED THEM THAT HE FULLY INTENDED TO SEND REPRESENTATIVES TO ADDIS. HE REPEATED HOWEVER, THAT FMG HAD NOT RECEIVED SPECIFIC INVITATION FOR ANY PARTICULAR DATE AND HAD ITSELF SUGGESTED SOME TIME AFTER FIRST OF YEAR HAVING IN MIND ILLNESS OF CHIEF ENAHORO, TURKISH STATE VISIT TO ADDIS AND CHRISTMAS HOLIDAYS.

2. WHILE GOWON APPEARED NOT TO BE BACKING AWAY FROM TALKS HE WAS ALSO CONVINCED THAT OJUKWU DID NOT INTEND SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS. IN THIS CONNECTION HE ASKED CARINGTON WHAT HE THOUGH OJUKWU'S TERMS MIGHT BE, AND THE LATTER REPLIED THAT IT WAS PERFECTLY CLEAR TO HIM THAT OJUKWU WOULD SETTLE FOR NOTHING LESS THAN FULL SOVEREIGNTY AND CONTROL OVER THE ENTIRE FROMER EASTERN REGION. IN THAT CASE GOWON SAID THERE WAS NOTHING TO TALK ABOUT.

3. TO CARRINGTON'S QUESTION ABOUT THE MILITARY SITUATION

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 10776 171836Z

GOWON SAID THAT HE HAD INSTRUCTED EVERYONE TO MAKE NO REFERENCE TO A "NEW OFFENSIVE," "FINAL OFFENSIVE" OR ANYTHING OF THE SORT. OPERATIONS WERE PROCEEDING METHODICALLY WITH COMMANDERS UNDER ORDERS TO CONSOLIDATE EACH ADVANCE BEFORE PROCEEDING FURTHER. HE HIMSELF HAD RECENTLY TALKED WITH COMMANDERS, WAS MAKING NO PREDICTIONS WOULD ONLY SAY THAT HE WAS "EXTREMELY ENCOURAGED" BY INFORMATION HE WAS RECEIVING.

4. LATER IN DAY GLASS WAS CALLED ON BY ETHIOPIAN AMBASSADOR WHO CONFIRMED THAT NO SPECIFIC INVITATION HAD BEEN SENT TO FMG. LATTER HAD SOME TIME AGO INDICATED THAT IT WOULD BE READY FOR TALKS AFTER RAMADAN AND IEG HAD NEVER GOTTEN AROUND TO SENDING INVITATION. ON OTHER HAND EMPEROR COULD NOT BE SURE WHAT OJUKWU HAD BEEN TOLD SINCE HE HAD BEEN OBLIGED TO COMMUNICATE WITH HIM THROUGH SIAKA STEVENS. ETHIOPIAN WAS UNDERSTANDABLY CONCERNED THAT EMPEROR WAS BEING PUT IN DILEMMA BY FMG REQUEST FOR CLARIFICATION. GLASS SUGGESTED TO HIM THAT BEST SOLUTION WOULD BE FOR FMG TO MAKE PURPOSELY VAGUE STATEMENT TO EFFECT THAT IT WAS SATISFIED WITH ASSURANCES OF EMPEROR AND WITHOUT ACCEPTING OJUKWU STATEMENT WAS PROCEEDING TO SEND REPRESENTATIVES TO ADDIS IMMEDIATELY. HE SUGGESTED ETHIOPIAN AMBASSADOR SPEAK TO ARIKPO ALONG THESE LINES BUT DOUBTED WHETHER HE WOULD DO SO EFFECTIVELY. GLASS AND I AGREED THAT IT WOULD PROBABLY BE BEST IF HE HIMSELF MADE THIS SUGGESTION TO ARIKPO NOTWITHSTANDING HIS CREDIT BALANCE WITH FMG HAS BEEN SERIOUSLY RUN DOWN IN LAST TWO WEEKS.

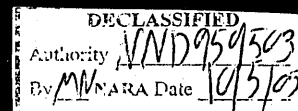
5. HE DID SPEAK TO ARIKPO BY TELEPHONE AT ABOUT 4:30 PM. LATTER WAS NOT COMPLETELY NEGATIVE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD FMG AMBASSADOR IN ADDIS HAD RECEIVED SOME CLARIFICATION BUT HE WANTED TO HAVE THE EXACT TEXT BEFORE DECIDING WHAT TO DO.

6. BY THIS TIME I HAD TEXT OF NIGERIAN AMBASSADOR'S STATEMENT IN ADDIS 5466 CALLED ARIKPO AND TOOK IT TO HIM AT HIS HOME SHORTLY AFTER 5:40 PM. HE APPEARED VERY APPRECIATIVE AND SAID THAT WITH THE TEXT IN HAND IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO TAKE A DECISION. HAVING IN MIND ADDIS 5468 I SAID THAT IF AS ARIKPO THOUGHT THIS WAS A PROPAGANDA

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PAGE 03 LAGOS 10776 171836Z

EXERCISE IT WAS VERY POSSIBLE THAT BIAFRANS WOULD SEIZE ON NIGERIAN AMBASSADOR'S STATEMENT MAKE SOME DRAMATIC ANNOUNCEMENT AND RETURN TO THE ENCLAVE. THE ONLY WAY TO FORESTALL OR OFFSET SUCH A MOVE WOULD BE FOR THE FMG TO GET ITS REPRESENTATIVES TO ADDIS VERY QUICKLY. ARIKPO MADE NO COMMITMENT BUT INDICATED HE WAS THINKING IN TERMS OF SENDING ONE OR TWO PEOPLE TO MEET FOR A FEW DAYS AND THEN ADJOURN THE TALKS UNTIL AFTER NEW YEAR'S. I REMINDED HIM OUR COMMUNICATIONS FACILITIES WERE AVAILABLE IF NEEDED AND HE SAID THEY MIGHT WELL AVAIL THEMSELVES OF THEM.

7. COMMENT THE FMG POSITION IS PLAINLY A GOOD DEAL MORE FLEXIBLE TONIGHT THAN IT WAS THIS MORNING. I THINK THERE IS A FAIR CHANCE BUT NO MORE THAT THEY WILL NOW MOVE TO SEND SOMEONE TO ADDIS IN THE NEXT DAY OR TWO. IN ANY CASE I FEEL QUITE SURE THAT FURTHER URGING WOULD NOT BE HELPFUL.

GP-2.
TRUEHEART.

NOTE: NOT PASSED! ADDRESSEES BY OCT.

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Date		December 17, 1969	S/S-O 11	Dpty
PRINCIPALS				
S	✓ 4	(42)	AF	✓✓ 20-21
U	✓ 5		ARA	
J	✓ 6		EA	
D	✓ 7		EUR	
O			NEA	
C	✓ 10		OTHER AGENCIES	
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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 515

PAGE 01 ADDIS 05476 180010Z

83
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CCO-00 USIE-00 GIAE-00
DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03
RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 AID-28 SR-01 ORM-03 UCF-05 UPW-01
IO-13 SCS-04 SCA-01 SSR-01 /148 W 056697

O 172230Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1818
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 5476

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PEACE TALKS

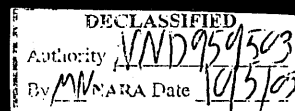
1. THE COMBINATION OF LOCAL REACTION TO HARD LINE TAKEN BY NIGERIAN AMBASSADOR IN PREPARED STATEMENT TO PRESS NOON DEC 17 (ADDIS 5466), IMPRESSION HELD BY MOST HERE NIGERIANS DID NOT INTEND FIELD DELEGATION IN ADDIS UNLESS OJUKWU PUBLICLY ACKNOWLEDGED OAU JURISDICTION OVER TALKS, AND LACK ANY MOVE BY HIM

OR IEG PULL TALKS OUT OF DISASTER AND BY LATE AFTERNOON DEC 17 BUILT DIP CORPS ATMOSPHERE AT GENERAL PESSIMISM. TALK OF FONMIN KETEMA AND LEADING MEMBERS DIPLOMATIC CORPS AT LATER EVENING HIM RECEPTION FOR VISITING TURKISH PRESIDENT INDICATED SURPRISING AND WELCOME CAUTIOUS OPTIMISM THAT BIAFRAN DELEGATION WOULD STAY IN ADDIS, NIGERIAN DELEGATION MIGHT SHOW UP BY WEEKEND, AND PRELIMINARY TALKS MIGHT ACTUALLY BE HELD.

2. TANZANIAN AMB SAID HE READ -- AND THOUGHT BIAFRANS HAD READ -- NIGERIAN AMB SANU'S STATEMENT TO PRESS DEC 17 AS BEING SIMPLY NIGERIAN PARALLEL OF OJUKWU SPEECH DELIVERED PRIMARILY FOR DOMESTIC CONSUMPTION. NIGERIANS IN OTHER WORDS WERE SETTING FORTH THEIR CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH NEGOTIATIONS MUST BE HELD, BUT WERE

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0577





Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 ADDIS 05476 180010Z

NOT GOING TO INSIST ON THOSE CONDITIONS ANY MORE THAN BIAFRANS WOULD INSIST ON OJUKWU CONDITIONS EVEN IF THEY COULD. TANZANIAN SAID HE WAS HOPEFUL BIAFRAN DELEGATION WOULD STAY IN ADDIS AND NIGERIANS WOULD ARRIVE BY END OF WEEK.

3. FONMIN KETEMA SAID BOTH SIDES OBVIOUSLY PLAYING GAMES BUT ETHIOPIANS REMAIN HOPEFUL NIGERIANS WILL SHOW UP BY END OF WEEK. SAID HIM ASSURANCES TO OJUKWU OBVIOUSLY WORDED DIFFERENTLY THAN ASSURANCES TO GOWON. OJUKWU'S SPEECH NECESSARY DOMESTIC POLITICAL MOVE FROM HIS POINT OF VIEW BUT HAD TWISTED HIM MESSAGES. KETEMA SAID IEG HAD CONCLUDED BETTER AT THIS STAGE STAY QUIET WHILE TWO SIDES MANEUVER SELVES CLOSER TO TABLE, AFTER HAVING REASSURED FMG THAT HIM WILL BE ACTING IN TALKS BOTH IN PERSONAL CAPACITY FOR AFRICAN PEACE AND AS OAU HEAD OF STATE DESIGNATED CHAIRMAN OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE ON NIGERIA.

4. FRENCH AMBASSADOR SAID BIAFRAN DELEGATION HERE TONIGHT MADE DECISION NOT TO LEAVE ADDIS FOR PRESENT. SAID THEIR CALCULATION THAT IF NIGERIANS FAIL TO APPEAR BIAFRANS WILL BE GUARANTEED PROPAGANDA FIELD DAY, AND IF NIGERIANS DO COME TCOI CAN GO AHEAD WITH PRELIMINARY TALKS. THEREFORE HE BELIEVED DEL HAD RECOMMENDED TO OJUKWU THEY REMAIN HERE FOR TIME BEING.

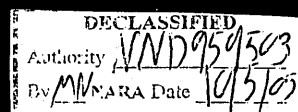
5. LIBERIAN AMB COX (DEAN OF CORPS) COMMENTED HE THOUGHT MIX-UP OVER DESPATCH DELEGATION IN LAGOS POSSIBLY RESULT ENAHORO'S POOR HEALTH AND HIS PERSONAL DESIRE POSTPONE ADDIS TALKS UNTIL AFTER JAN 5. COX COMMENTED HOWEVER THAT WOULD FALL JUST BEFORE ETHIOPIAN CHRISTMAS HOLIDAY AND HIM WOULD NOT WISH BE CAUGHT UP IN ARDUOUS TALKS DURING THAT PERIOD. COX PERSONALLY DOUBTFUL NIGERIANS WILL SEND DELEGATION, BUT REMAINS HOPEFUL.

6. SWEDISH AMB, AFTER SAMPLING MUCH SAME COMMUNITY, SAID AFTERWORDS HE MORE OPTIMISTIC SOMETHING CAN BE PATCHED TOGETHER THAN HE WAS EARLIER IN DAY. HE IS PLANNING TO RETURN STOCKHOLM FOR HOLIDAYS, RETURNING ABOUT JAN 10. AUSTRIAN AMB KNOWS LEADER BIAFRAN DELEGATION OKIGBO AS INDEPENDENT, SENIOR, SKILLFUL AND RESPONSIBLE MAN. HE THEREFORE OPTIMISTIC TALKS MAY MAKE PROGRESS IF THEY CAN BE CONVENED.

7. COMMENT: I TOLD FONMIN KETEMA IN GENERAL TERMS THAT WE WERE MAKING APPROACH IN LAGOS INSTRUCTED STATE 208132, AFTER

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0578





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PAGE 03 ADDIS 05476 180010Z

CONCLUDING IT WOULD BE BETTER FOR IEG HEAR FROM US THAN
NIGERIANS. HE PLEASED BY OUR ACTION. INCIDENTALLY LEARNED THIS
EVENING OAU SEC GEN DIALLO TELLI IS OUT OF ACTION WITH
INFLUENZA. IN HIS ABSENCE KETEMA OBVIOUSLY COLD-SHOULDERING
OAU AIDE SENT BY TELLI TO REPRESENT OAU AT PALACE.
WALL

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By	MNARA Date 10/3/05

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 947

PAGE 01 ADDIS 05468 171444Z

50
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00
PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01
PRS-01 SS-20 SR-01 ORM-03 SCS-04 SCA-01 IO-13 AID-28

RSR-01 CCO-00 UPW-01 UCF-05 ACDA-18 /166 W
053925

P R 171400Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1813
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 5468

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PEACE TALKS

REF: ADDIS 5466 (NOTAL)

1. RE NIGERIAN AMBASSADOR'S STATEMENT REPTEL, FRENCH AMBASSADOR
EXPRESSED STRONG VIEW TODAY UNLESS ETHIOPIANS MAKE SOME CLARIFYING
STATEMENT AND FMG TAKES SOME ACTION IN LAGOS TO COUNTER ITS
EFFECT, BIAFRANS NOW PRESENT IN ADDIS LIKELY LET LOOSE BLAST AND
GO HOME SHORTLY. UK EMBOFF SAID THEY REGRETTED REFERENCE TO
TELLI IN NIGERIAN AMB STATEMENT AND CONCLUDED NIGERIANS
COOPERATING

WITH BIAFRANS IN REGRESSING AGAIN TO PUBLIC RELATIONS BATTLE
UNLIKELY PRODUCE TALKS. FEEL BALL NOW BACK IN BIAFRAN COURT
AND THEY LIKELY ASK ETHIOPIANS FOR CLARIFICATION TERMS OF PRO-
POSED TALKS AND WHETHER WORTHWHILE MEETING AT ALL. WE HAVE
BEEN UNABLE REACH POLICY-LEVEL ETHIOPIANS FOR REACTION AND
INDICATION POSSIBLE NEXT MOVES.

2. RE DAR ES SALAAM 3476 REPORT ON AUSTIN OKWU MOVEMENTS,
OKWU ARRIVED HERE THIS MORNING.
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31

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12-17-69
Addis Ababa 5468

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Do L 27-14 Biafra Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 923

PAGE 01 PARIS 18959 171429Z

50 41
ACTION AF-05

INFO OCT-01 SS-20 EUR-12 NSC-10 NSCE-00 UCF-01 IO-04 INR-06

CIAE-00 SR-01 PM-03 DODE-00 L-02 RSR-01 RSC-01 /067 W
053856

P R 171400Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9457
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION USUNNEWYORK

SECRET PARIS 18959

LIMDIS

(1) SUBJECT: NIGERIA/BIAFRA -- GOF PRESSING FOR NEGOTIATIONS
REF: STATE 207841

1. QUAI DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR NON-FRANCOPHONE AFRICA (CARRAUD) ASKED EMBOFF CALL DECEMBER 16 FOR REVIEW LATEST DEVELOPMENTS RE POSSIBLE NIGERIA/BIAFRA NEGOTIATIONS. IN REVIEWING FOR EMBOFF APPEAL PRESENTED PREVIOUS DAY IN WASHINGTON FOR US EFFORT GET FMG DELEGATION TO ADDIS (REFTEL), CARRAUD READ FROM AMBASSADOR LUCET'S REPORTING CABLES. UNLIKE PARA 3 REFTEL, WHICH SUGGESTS US REPLY LIMITED TO WILLINGNESS SEEK FURTHER INFORMATION, LUCET'S CABLES STRONGLY IMPLIED US COMMITMENT TO EXERT PRESSURE ON FMG AS REQUESTED BY FRENCH.

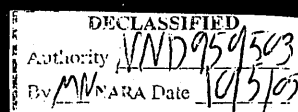
2. CARRAUD ALSO COMMENTED GOF HAS APPROACHED ONLY US ON THIS ISSUE. FRENCH HAVE NOT RAISED QUESTION WITH BRITISH AND NO APPROACH IN LONDON PRESENTLY CONTEMPLATED.

3. COMMENT: WOULD APPRECIATE PARIS BEING ADDED AS INFO ADDRESSEE ON FURTHER COMMUNICATIONS WHICH DEVELOP IN RESPONSE TO GOF INITIATIVE SO THAT WE CAN MAINTAIN FRUITFUL EXCHANGE WITH QUAI. GP-3.

SHRIVER

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37



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NIGERIA

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ACTION: AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

INFO: AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USUN *NY*

STATE:

Lagos

REF: ~~xxx~~ 10725; Lagos 10686; Addis 5445 NOTAL

EXDIS

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM UNDER SECRETARY

1. Request you seek appointment Arikpo at earliest possible time and convey following message from Under Secretary Richardson.
2. USG has been much encouraged by prospect Addis talks under HIM aegis and by FMG statesmanlike and constructive attitude in agreeing to talks. Under Secretary has now read with concern confusing current press reports re present state Addis talks. Reports indicate Biafran delegation en route but Federal participation in doubt. We appreciate these preliminary unconditional talks do not meet FMG declared requirements for substantive negotiations. However, we hope they might lead to more substantive negotiations and felt FMG taking wise course in demonstrating flexibility and willingness explore opportunity to move toward serious talks.

DRAFTED BY:

AF/SN:WHBrubeck:gw

DRAFTING DATE

12/16/69

TEL. EXT.

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APPROVED BY:

The Under Secretary

CLEARANCES:

AF - Amb. Moore *MB*

AF - Mr. News *MB*

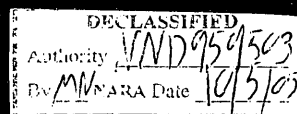
S/S - Mr. Eliot *AL*

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FORM DS-322
4-68

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ACTION: AMEMBASSY LAGOS - Page 2

3. Under Secretary concerned now that FMG will be put publicly in position of appearing responsible for failure HIM's effort. Under Secretary is sure Arikpo will appreciate that friends of Nigeria will internationally and have difficult time/in US explaining and defending such outcome. He is concerned that much of sympathy and understanding FMG achieved by constructive attitude daylight flight agreement may be dissipated by such an outcome. In light USG public statements re daylight agreement crediting the FMG for constructive attitude and pointing to Biafran failure agree, appearance of FMG responsibility for failure Addis talks would create difficult situation.

4. Under Secretary also wishes recall that following conversations Arikpo here, he has talked with French urging them use influence Biafrans toward negotiations. He wants Arikpo to know in great confidence that he believes French have, in fact, been helpful in getting Biafran acceptance Addis talks. Our own ability deal effectively with French will be greatly weakened if talks do not materialize. ^{He}~~XX~~ was most encouraged by talk with Arikpo here and this message is in spirit of that conversation and in the belief he should convey to Arikpo our concern.

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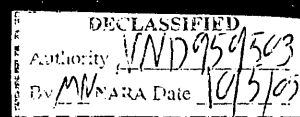
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ACTION: AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA - Page 3

5. FYI We understand HMG instructing Glass continue his efforts with FMG and assume you coordinating with Glass. Assistant Sec Newsom calling in FMG Charge Udoh today, will convey substance of above and inform Udoh Under Secretary's message going to Arikpo. End FYI.

End.

ROGERS

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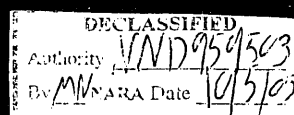
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4-68

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 301

PAGE 01 STATE 208132

85
ORIGIN SS-10

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R 192352Z DEC 69
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

070362:

S E C R E T STATE: 208132

EXDIS

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION LAGOS INFO ADDIS ABABA LONDON PARIS
USUN NEW YORK FROM SECSTATE DATED DEC. 16:

QUOTE :

STATE 208132

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y

CORRECTION OF MISSING PORTION LAST SENTENCE IN PARAGRAPH NO. 4.

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM UNDER SECRETARY

REF: LAGOS 10725; LAGOS 10686; ADDIS 5445 NOTAL

1. REQUEST YOU SEEK APPOINTMENT ARIKPO AT EARLIEST POSSIBLE TIME AND CONVEY FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM UNDER SECRETARY RICHARDSON.

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 STATE 208132

2. USG HAS BEEN MUCH ENCOURAGED BY PROSPECT ADDIS TALKS UNDER HIM AEGIS AND BY FMG STATESMANLIKE AND CONSTRUCTIVE ATTITUDE IN AGREEING TO TALKS. UNDER SECRETARY HAS NOW READ WITH CONCERN CONFUSING CURRENT PRESS REPORTS RE PRESENT STATE ADDIS TALKS. REPORTS INDICATE BIAFRAN DELEGATION EN ROUTE BUT FEDERAL PARTICIPATION IN DOUBT. WE APPRECIATE THESE PRELIMINARY UNCONDITIONAL TALKS DO NOT MEET FMG DECLARED REQUIREMENTS FOR SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS. HOWEVER, WE HOPE THEY MIGHT LEAD TO MORE SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS AND FELT FMG TAKING WISE COURSE IN DEMONSTRATING FLEXIBILITY AND WILLINGNESS EXPLORE OPPORTUNITY TO MOVE TOWARD SERIOUS TALKS.

3. UNDER SECRETARY CONCERNED NOW THAT FMG WILL BE PUT PUBLICLY IN POSITION OF APPEARING RESPONSIBLE FOR FAILURE HIM'S EFFORT. UNDER SECRETARY IS SURE ARIKPO WILL APPRECIATE THAT FRIENDS OF NIGERIA WILL HAVE DIFFICULT TIME INTERNATIONALLY AND IN US EXPLAINING AND DEFENDING SUCH OUTCOME. HE IS CONCERNED THAT MUCH OF SYMPATHY AND UNDERSTANDING FMG ACHIEVED BY CONSTRUCTIVE ATTITUDE DAYLIGHT FLIGHT AGREEMENT MAY BE DISSIPATED BY SUCH AN OUTCOME. IN LIGHT USG PUBLIC STATEMENTS RE DAYLIGHT AGREEMENT CREDITING THE FMG FOR CONSTRUCTIVE ATTITUDE AND POINTING TO BIAFRAN FAILURE AGREE, APPEARANCE OF FMG RESPONSIBILITY FOR FAILURE ADDIS TALKS WOULD CREATE DIFFICULT SITUATION.

4. UNDER SECRETARY ALSO WISHES RECALL THAT FOLLOWING CONVERSATIONS ARIKPO HERE, HE HAS TALKED WITH FRENCH URGING THEM USE INFLUENCE BIAFRANS TOWARD NEGOTIATIONS. HE WANTS ARIKPO TO KNOW IN GREAT CONFIDENCE THAT HE BELIEVES FRENCH HAVE, IN FACT, BEEN HELPFUL IN GETTING BIAFRAN ACCEPTANCE ADDIS TALKS. OUR OWN ABILITY DEAL EFFECTIVELY WITH FRENCH WILL BE GREATLY WEAKENED IF TALKS DO NOT MATERIALIZE. HE WAS MOST ENCOURAGED BY TALK WITH ARIKPO HERE AND THIS MESSAGE IS IN SPIRIT OF THAT CONVERSATION AND IN THE BELIEF HE SHOULD CONVEY TO ARIKPO OUR CONCERN.

5. FYI WE UNDERSTAND HMG INSTRUCTING GLASS CONTINUE HIS EFFORTS WITH FMG AND ASSUME YOU COORDINATING WITH GLASS. ASSISTANT SEC NEWSOM CALLING IN FMG CHARGE UDOH TODAY, WILL CONVEY SUBSTANCE OF ABOVE AND INFORM UDOH UNDER SECRETARY'S MESSAGE GOING TO ARIKPO. END FYI.

ROGERS UNQUOTE. ROGERS

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D	7	EUR	20
O		NEA	
C	10	OTHER AGENCIES	
S/CPR		White House	2, 3
S/PC	12-13	Vice President	
S/PRS		Defense	21
U/CF	24	State Rep	22
U/PW		CIA	23
FUNCTIONAL BUREAUS		ACDA	
A		AID	
DG		AID/VN	
E		USIA	
H		NSA	
INR	14-15	Treasury	
IO	16-17		
L	25		
P		OTHER	
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S ✓ 4		AF ✓✓ 18-19	
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J ✓ 6		EA	
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S/CFR		White House ✓✓ 2/3 37	
S/PC ✓✓ 12-13 333 435		Vice President 36	
S/PRS		Defense ✓ 21	
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Re: 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 469

PAGE 01 LAGOS 10725 161257Z

50
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 UCF-05 AID-28 SR-01 ORM-03 IO-13
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10
P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 UPW-01
OC-06 CCO-00 RSR-01 /149 W

O 161220Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 405
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USUN NEWYORK 1327

SECRET LAGOS 10725

SUBJ: NIGERIA/BIAFRA NEGOTIATIONS

REF: STATE 207442 (NOTAL)

1. UKHICOM DISCUSSED QUESTION OF FMG SENDING DELEGATION TO ADDIS TALKS WITH ARIKPO THIS MORNING. ARIKPO SAID DECISION WHETHER TO SEND REPRESENTATIVES NOT YET MADE. HE REITERATED HIS STATEMENT MADE AT PRESS CONFERENCE DEC. 13 THAT FMG HAD NOT BEEN OFFICIALLY INVITED TO MEET ON THESE DATES (9-14/9-15). (ENAHORO EXTAFF INFORMED DCM EMPEROR HAD PROMISED TO GIVE FMG 48 HOURS NOTICE PRIOR TO MEETING. NO SUCH NOTICE HAS BEEN RECEIVED.)

2. FURTHER COMPLICATION IS BIAFRAN BROADCAST THIS MORNING WHICH STATES EMPEROR INFORMED BIAFRAN AUTHORITIES A. NIGERIA AGREED TO ENTER TALKS WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS, B. TALKS AT HIM'S PERSONAL INITIATIVE AND UNDER HIS PERSONAL AUSPICES AND NOT AS CHAIRMAN OAU CONCOM "OR EVEN AS AGENT OF OAU ITSELF", C. MEETING WILL NOT BE HELD IN CONTEXT OF OAU RESOLUTION. BROADCAST THEN STATED THAT WITH THESE ASSURANCES, BIAFRA HAS DECIDED TO ATTEND TALKS.

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 10725 161257Z

3. ARIKPO INFORMED HICOM THAT FOREGOING IS FIRST FMG HAS HEARD OF TALKS NOT BEING UNDER OAU AUSPICES OR IN CONTEXT OF OAU RESOLUTION. ARIKPO SAID MATTER BEING STUDIED AND HE UNDERTOOK TO INFORM UKHICOM OF RESULTS. (GOWON CURRENTLY VISITING WESTERN STATE, SCHEDULED RETURN LAGOS THIS EVENING.)

4. GIVEN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES WE ARE KEEPING IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH HICOM AND FOR MOMENT LEAVING PROBING TO BRITS. DCM, HOWEVER, DID MAKE OFFER OF COMMUNICATION FACILITIES (REFTEL) TO ENAHORO EXTAFF WHO EXPRESSED APPRECIATION. DCM TOOK OCCASION TO EXPRESS HOPES TO ENAHORO THAT TALKS WOULD GET UNDERWAY NOW THAT BIAFRANS HAD DELEGATION IN ADDIS. ENAHORO REPLIED WITH COMMENT IN PARA 1 ABOVE.

GP-3
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Pol 27-14 Biafra - Nigeria
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ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS

INFO : Amembassy ABIDJAN
Amembassy ADDIS ABABA
Amembassy LONDON
Amembassy PARIS
USUN.

REF: State 207442

LIMDIS

1. French Ambassador Lucet informed Under Secretary Richardson afternoon December 15 that Biafran delegation, with a push from French, on way to Addis for proposed talks. Delegation comprises Pius Okigbo, Mbanefo, Owadula (sic?), Okwu and Minister of Agriculture (unnamed).
2. Lucet stated French understood there seemed to be some uncertainties about FMG participation in Addis talks and asked if we could do something to get FMG to table.
3. We informing Lucet that Addis Embassy had mentioned non-appearance FMG delegation and that we querying both Lagos and Addis for further information.

END

DRAFTED BY: AF: Amb. Moore: crj *DM*
DRAFTING DATE: 12/15/69
TEL. EXT.: 22446
APPROVED BY: AF - Ambassador Newsom *DM*

CLEARANCES:

AF/S - Mr. Stokes *DM*

S/PC - Mr. Ruser *P.W.R.*

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4-68

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State

TELEGRAM

Addis Ababa 5451
12-16-69

CONFIDENTIAL 371

PAGE 01 ADDIS 05451 161129Z

17
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00
USIE-00 CCO-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSC-10 P-03
RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 UCF-05 SR-01 ORM-03 AID-28 SCS-04
SCA-01 IO-13 RSR-01 /147 W

O 160958Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1803
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 5451

SUBJECT: NIGERIA: NIGERIAN AMBASSADOR STATEMENT TO VOA

REF: ADDIS 5438 (NOTAL)

1. OFFICIAL ENGLISH-LANGUAGE ETHIOPIAN HERALD DEC 16 FRONT-PAGED STORY REPORTING NIGERIAN AMB SANU'S AUDIENCE WITH HIM DEC 15 AND DELIVERY OF MESSAGE FROM GOWON (RETEL). SAME STORY REPORTS BIAFRAN DELEGATION EN ROUTE TO ADDIS MET PRESS LIBREVILLE. PLUS OKIGBO QUOTED AS SAYING HOPED HIS DELEGATION COULD REACH AGREEMENT WITH NIGERIANS IN ADDIS ON QTE SUMMIT MEETING UNQTE BETWEEN GOWON AND OJUKWU. SAID WOULD BE FIFTH TIME TWO SIDES HAD MET, BUT FIRST TIME NIGERIANS AGREED TO DISCUSSIONS WITHOUT PRIOR CONDITIONS. ASKED ABOUT CHANCES SUCCESS, OKIGBO SAID QTE WHEN YOU LEAVE YOUR COUNTRY IN CONDITIONS THAT WE HAVE LEFT OURS YOU HOPE WON'T BE IN VAIN. IF WE TACKLE PROBLEM SERIOUSLY THESE SHOULD BE OVER RAPIDLY. UNQTE SAME STORY ALSO SAID QTE AUTHORITATIVE BIAFRAN SOURCE UNQTE RECALLED CONDITIONS OJUKWU LAID DOWN FOR MEETING WITH GOWON: MEETING IN ADDIS OR ELSEWHERE WERE OJUKWU'S SECURITY ASSURED AND QTE CONTROLLED UNQTE CEASEFIRE OFFERING QTE ALL GUARANTEE TO BIAFRA UNQTE BEFORE OJUKWU LEAVES BIAFRA. BIAFRAN SOURCE ALSO NOTED ADDIS TALKS WOULD TAKE PLACE QTE IN PRESENCE OF UNQTE

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PAGE 02 ADDIS 05451 161129Z

HIM.

2. IN INTERVIEW DEC 16 WITH VOA CORRESPONDENT CRAWFORD NIGERIAN AMB SANU AUTHORIZED STORY BEING REPORTED SEPARATELY VOA CHANNELS IN WHICH SANU STATED HE WOULD NOT MEET THREE-MAN BIAFRAN DELEGATION WITHOUT RECEIVING SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS FROM LAGOS. SAID THERE IS NO DELEGATION FROM NIGERIA NOW IN ADDIS. SAID HIS DEC 15 ESTIMATE OF MEETING EARLY 1970 (ADDIS 54450) STILL STANDS, THOUGH MIGHT MEET BIAFRANS THIS MONTH TO DISCUSS AGENDA FOR LATER MEETING OF PRINCIPALS. WOULD ATTEND EVEN SUCH PROCEDURAL MEETING, HOWEVER, ONLY ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM LAGOS. NOTED NIGERIANS AGREED TO MEETING AT QTE INSTIGATION UNQTE OF HIM, AND IF THIRD GOVERNMENTS FRIENDLY TO QTE SECESSIONISTS UNQTE TRY TO JOIN IN WOULD MEAN END OF TALKS.

3. CRAWFORD REPORTS AT TIME DEC 16 INTERVIEW, IN ADDITION ABOVE POINTS SANU AUTHORIZED FOR VOA USE, SANU SAID OKIGBO STATEMENTS TO PRESS (PARA 1) NOT HELPFUL AND PROBABLY KILLED CHANCES OF SUCCESSFUL TALKS COMPLETELY. SAID BIAFRANS MUST KNOW NIGERIANS NOT ANXIOUS ATTEND ADDIS MEETING AND AGREED COME ONLY BECAUSE OF HIM. SAID QTE WE ARE NOT ORGANIZING AN AFRICAN CONFERENCE FOR OJUKWU AND HIS FRIENDS. UNQTE

4. IN LATER DEVELOPMENT CRAWFORD RECEIVED TIP FMG DELEGATION HEADED BY ENAHORO NOW EN ROUTE TO ADDIS EXPECTED ARRIVE DEC 17 (LAGOS 10686). WHEN QUERIED BY CRAWFORD THIS POINT AMB SANU DENIED KNOWLEDGE OF DESPATCH SUCH DELEGATION. SAID IF TRUE, COMPLETELY CONTRARY TO CONTENTS GOWON MESSAGE DELIVERED TO HIM DEC 15. ACKNOWLEDGED, HOWEVER, POSSIBILITY HIM MAY HAVE COMMUNICATED WITH GOWON OVERNIGHT AND PREVAILED ON GOWON SEND DELEGATION. RECONFIRMED AUTHORIZATION VOA USE REPORT SUMMARIZED PARA 2 ABOVE.

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INFO: AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

STATE:

SUBJECT: Nigeria/Biafra Negotiations

LIMDIS

sent

1. You are receiving septel instructions/to Lagos for communicating to FMG US concern re problems developing on FMG participation Addis peace talks.
2. In view our desire to coordinate with HMG and encourage British make strong effort influence FMG to participate, you authorized inform British of action we are taking, and to convey substance of USG demarche being made.
3. For Paris: We informing French here in general terms of our effort influence Lagos this issue.

End.

[ROGERS]

DRAFTED BY: AF/SN:WHBrubeck:gw MB
DRAFTING DATE: 12/16/69 TEL. EXT. 23406 APPROVED BY: AF/SN - Mr. Brubeck MB

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PO 1 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 409

PAGE 01 ADDIS 05445 151650Z

50
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 UCF-05 AID-28 SSO-00 SR-01 ORM-03 CIAE-00
DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03
RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 (RSR-01) /121 W
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P 151535Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1798
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 5445

SUBJECT: NIGERIA: ADDIS TALKS

REF: ADDIS ABABA 5438

1. VOA TODAY REPORTED TO WASHINGTON THAT FMG SPOKESMAN ADDIS HAD PREDICTED "TALKS BETWEEN TWO SIDES NIGERIAN WAR WILL BEGIN ADDIS 'EARLY NEXT YEAR.'" REPORTS SPOKESMAN SAID "GOOD POSSIBILITY SERIOUS DISCUSSION TAKING PLACE THAT TIME AND ADDED PRELIMINARY TALKS MAY BEGIN EVEN EARLIER." SPOKESMAN MENTIONED HIM'S OCCUPATION WITH VISIT PRESIDENT OF TURKEY OSTENSIBLY AS REASON.

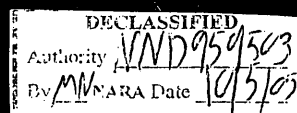
2. INTERESTING NOTE THAT ABOVE STATEMENT CAME FROM FMG AMB SANU WHO AT FIRST HAD OMITTED ANY REFERENCE TO POSSIBILITY TALKS EARLIER THAN JANUARY. VOA CORRESPONDENT AFTER CHECKING WITH THIS EMBASSY SUGGESTED DANGERS FOR FMG WORLD IMAGE OF STATEMENT GIVING APPEARANCE FMG DRAGGING FEET AND SANU THEN AGREED ADDTEXT REPORTED IN SECOND SENTENCE PARA 1 ABOVE.

3. COMMENT: SINCE SANU NORMALLY MORE PERCEPTIVE THAN THIS PERFORMANCE WOULD INDICATE, WE WONDER WHETHER HIS INSTRUCTIONS FROM LAGOS MAY BE EVEN MORE RIGID THAN REPORTS REFTEL WOULD INDICATE. HIM FOLLOWING CLOSELY AND WITH STRONG HAND HOWEVER AND DO NOT RPT NOT RECOMMEND OUR INTERVENTION THIS TIME.

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CONFIDENTIAL 22

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31

SECRET 439

PAGE 01 LONDON 10077 151736Z

42
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 IO-13
UCF-05 RSR-01 /122 W

R 151611Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4769
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

SECRET LONDON 10077

NIGERIAN INTERNATIONAL OBSERVER FORCE

REF: SECSTATE 204654 - *Pol 27-14 B-N*

1. THE FCO HAS PROVIDED TWO DOCUMENTS IN RESPONSE TO EMBASSY REQUEST FOR INFORMATION ON OBSERVER FORCE. DOCUMENTS BEING FORWARDED BY AIRGRAM BUT ESSENTIALS OF TERMS OF REFERENCE QUOTED BELOW FROM SEPT 6 1968 COMMUNICATION FROM MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS LAGOS TO UK HICOMER ARE AS FOLLOWS:

QUOTE: VISITS: TO VISIT ALL WAR AFFECTED AREAS AND NEWLY LIBERATED AREAS, ON FEDERAL-CONTROLLED SIDE, TO WITNESS CONDUCT OF FEDERAL TROOPS - RE CHARGES OF GENOCIDE, ETC. SUCH VISITS MAY BE UNDERTAKEN AT THEIR OWN INSTANCE OR AT INSTANCE OF FEDERAL MILITARY GOVT ON RECEIPT OF ANY INTERNATIONAL ALLEGATIONS ABOUT CONDUCT OF FEDERAL TROOPS IN ANY PARTICULAR AREA.

① REPORTS: THESE WILL BE MADE TO INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES OR ORGANIZATIONS, BUT TEAM WILL MAKE THEIR VISITS TOGETHER AND SIGN THEIR REPORTS COLLECTIVELY. MEMBERS ARE ALSO FREE TO PUBLISH SUCH REPORTS IN LAGOS OR ELSEWHERE, BUT COPIES OF ALL REPORTS ISSUED SHOULD BE DEPOSITED WITH FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT.

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12-15-69*

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PAGE 02 LONDON 10077 151736Z

DURATION: TWO MONTHS IN FIRST INSTANCE - FROM TIME ALL
MEMBERS ASSEMBLE. IT IS HOPED THAT ALL WILL ARRIVE IN
LAGOS WITHIN WEEK ENDING SEPT. 14. UNQUOTE.
ANNENBERG.

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15 DEC 69 21 00Z

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ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS IMMEDIATE

INFO : Amembassy ADDIS ABABA ~~XXXXXXXX~~ PRIORITY
 " LONDON PRIORITY

STATE

Subj: Nigeria/Biafra Negotiations

Ref: (A) Addis 5438 (B) Addis 5445 (C) CA-11287 5/17/66
 Bearing suggest

1. / ~~Bearing~~ in mind limitations and precautions Ref C, / Embassy, ~~XXXXXXXX~~

indicate to FMG our willingness pass messages to Addis should need arise.

~~xxx~~ 2. We of course seriously disturbed over apparent FMG delay in fielding delegation. We agree Embassy intervention may not be advisable at this point (Ref. B). Offer of communication facilities, however, may provide opportunity to probe FMG on composition and ETD of its delegation and/the general expectation and hope, with Biafran participation now assured, that long-awaited Addis talks can get underway soonest. Department leaves method of approach to Embassy's discretion.

GP - 1

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY:

AF/SN:BAStokes:11

DRAFTING DATE

12/15/69

TEL. EXT.

23468

APPROVED BY:

AF - Ambassador C. Robert M.

CLEARANCES:

AF/E-Mr. ~~Boyer~~ Shinn

AF - Mr. Newsom

U/CF - Mr. Foley

S/PC-Mr. Ruser

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Pol 27-14 Biafra - Nigeria
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CONFIDENTIAL 421

PAGE 01 LAGOS 10686 151647Z

52-42
ACTION AF-05

INFO OCT-01 SS-20 UCF-01 NSC-10 NSCE-00 IO-04 PRS-01 P-01
INR-06 USIA-01 CIAE-00 CCO-00 SSO-00 RSR-01 RSC-01
EUR-12 PM-03 DODE-00 /067 W

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P R 151615Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 380
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMCONSUL KADUNA
AMCONSUL IBADAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 10686

LIMDIS

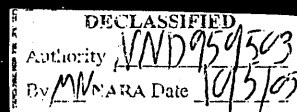
SUBJECT: STATE OF PLAY OF NIGERIAN PEACE TALKS IN ADDIS

1. SUMMARY. FOLLOWING AN AMBIGUOUS STATEMENT ON THE POSSIBILITY OF PEACE TALKS IN ADDIS, THERE HAS BEEN A FLURRY OF DIFFERENT PUBLIC INTERPRETATIONS OF FMG CURRENT INTENTIONS. WE UNDERSTAND THAT AS OF 1500 LOCAL DECEMBER 15 FMG STILL INTEND TO GO AHEAD WITH TALKS, BUT AWAIT FURTHER WORD FROM HIM THAT THE BIAFRANS ARE WILLING, AND ON WHAT TERMS. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE FMG HAVE AN "ADVANCE MAN" IN ADDIS FOR "TALKS ABOUT TALKS". END SUMMARY.

2. FMG COMMISSIONER EXTERNAL AFFAIRS ARIKPO GAVE PRESS

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*LAGOS 10686
12/15/69*



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PAGE 02 LAGOS 10686 151647Z

CONFERENCE ON SHORT NOTICE DECEMBER 13 MOSTLY DEVOTED TO PROBLEMS OF NIGERIANS EXPELLED FROM GHANA. NEAR END OF PRESS CONFERENCE IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION ABOUT ADDIS TALKS HE WAS APPARENTLY AMBIGUOUS, STATING THAT FMG HAD NOT YET RECEIVED " FORMAL INVITATION" ADDIS TALKS. ASKED IF NIGERIA WOULD TALK WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS HE SAID "THAT QUESTION IS PREMATURE". ASKED IF SUCH TALKS BE HELD ONLY ON BASIS OF OAU RESOLUTION CALLING FOR NIGERIAN UNITY, ARIKPO SAID "YES, AFTER ALL WHY DO WE GO TO WAR TO MAINTAIN UNITY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF NIGERIA". HE ADDED, "WE ARE PREPARED TO TALK PROVIDED THEY WILL BE MEANINGFUL AND NOT A PUBLIC RELATIONS EXERCISE".

3. THIS SET OFF SERIES OF WIRE SERVICE STORIES WHICH VARIED CONSIDERABLY IN THEIR INTERPRETATION. AS WE UNDERSTAND IT, AFP FEATURED LINE THAT THERE HAD BEEN "NO INVITATION", WHILE AP CORRESPONDENT SAID HE THOUGHT EVERYTHING HAD "GONE BACK TO SQUARE ONE." REUTERS SAID (IN A CORRECTION) THAT THE FMG HAD AGREED TO ATTEND "MEANINGFUL" PEACE TALKS, BUT BRITISH HERE RECEIVED TELEGRAM FROM HMG SAYING REUTERS CLAIMED ARIKPO HAD NOT RECEIVED AN INVITATION FOR TALKS WITH BIAFRANS AT ADDIS.

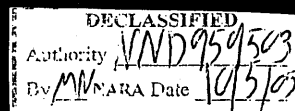
4. WE NOW NOTE AFP ITEM FROM DAR ES SALAAM DATED DECEMBER 14 SAYING THAT BIAFRAN DELEGATION SCHEDULED GO ADDIS ABABA ON 15TH "HAS CANCELLED ITS TRIP ON ORDERS FROM OWERRI". STORY CONTINUES THAT "THIS FOLLOWS STATEMENT BY NIGERIAN EXTERNAL AFFAIRS COMMISSIONER ARIKPO THAT NIGERIA HAD NOT RECEIVED ANY INVITATION TO ADDIS ABABA ".

5. BRITISH HIGH COMMISSION HERE (PROTECT) BASED ON CONTACTS WITH ARIKPO OVER VISITS OF FOLEY AND LORD CARRINGTON SAY THAT AS OF AFTERNOON DECEMBER 15 FMG ARE INDEED STILL AWAITING FROM EMPEROR CONFIRMATION THAT OJUKWU HAS ACCEPTED AN INVITATION TO MEET AT A DEFINITE TIME AND PLACE BUT HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO FINALIZE ARRANGEMENTS FOR SENDING A DELEGATION TO ETHIOPIA. FMG SOURCES HAVE SAID NOTHING TO BRITISH TO SUGGEST THAT FMG POSITION HAS TOUGHENED ON CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH THEY PREPARED TO TAKE PART IN TALKS.

6. MEANWHILE, BRITISH HERE HAVE IMPRESSION THAT TALKS AT

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 03 LAGOS 10686 151647Z

ADDIS COULD WELL BE "TALKS ABOUT TALKS", WHICH COULD BE HANDLED AT RELATIVELY LOW LEVEL. IN THIS CONNECTION WE NOTE THAT ADENIJI, HEAD OF AFRICAN DIVISION MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, LEFT FOR ADDIS ABOUT DECEMBER 8. HE TOLD EMBOFF HE GOING ON "OAU BUDGET TALKS". WHILE THIS IS POSSIBLE WE THINK IT ALSO POSSIBLE HE LIKELY BE FMG ADVANCE MAN FOR HIGHER LEVEL TALKS, AND HE PROBABLY HAS SUFFICIENT RANK TO INITIATE "TALKS ABOUT TALKS". ADENIJI HAS BEEN PRESENT AT PREVIOUS MEETINGS WITH BIAFRANS. FINALLY NEITHER WE NOR BRITISH KNOW OF HIGHER RANKING NIGERIANS (WHO MIGHT POSSIBLY BE PARTICIPANTS IN TALKS, WHO ARE NOW OUT OF COUNTRY: ALTHOUGH WE UNDERSTAND CHIEF ENAHORO LEFT FOR LONDON OVER WEEKEND, OSTENSIBLY FOR FURTHER MEDICAL TREATMENT.

7. COMMENT FROM FOREGOING IT APPARENT THERE CONSIDERABLE PUBLIC CONFUSION AS TO NIGERIAN INTENTIONS. BIAFRAN REP IN EAST AFRICA HAS BEEN FAIRLY AUTHORITATIVE SOURCE BEFORE AND WE WOULD HOPE THAT AFP STORY FROM DAR ES SALAAM WHICH NOT DIRECTLY ATTRIBUTED TO BIAFRANS, ABOUT CANCELLATION OF DELEGATION IS NOT THEIR LAST WORD.

GP-3.
TRUEHEART

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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SECRET 291

PAGE 01 ADDIS 05438 151502Z

45

ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 SS0-00 NSCE-00 CCO-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 SS-20 OC-06 UCF-05 SR-01 ORM-03 UPW-01 ACDA-18

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FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1793

INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T ADDIS ABABA 5438

1. AMBASSADOR TALKED WITH TANZANIAN AMBASSADOR RUTAKYAMIRWA AND NIGERIAN AMBASSADOR SANU AT MOON ROCK SHOWING AFRICA HALL THIS MORNING. RUTAKYAMIRWA SAYS BIAFRAN DELEGATION EXPECTED ARRIVE ADDIS TODAY OR TOMORROW BY CHARTER FLIGHT. FMG ON OTHER HAND SEEMS TO HAVE LEFT ITSELF IN SOME DISARRAY BY NOT TAKING SERIOUSLY POSSIBILITY BIAFRAN PARTICIPATION. SANU SAW HIM THIS MORNING TO EXPLAIN DIFFICULTIES FIELDING FMG DEL THIS POINT, IN PART BECAUSE OF ENAHORO'S UNAVAILABILITY FOR CONTINUING HEALTH REASONS, AND ARGUE FOR POSTPONEMENT UNTIL JANUARY. HIM APPARENTLY GAVE STERN LECTURE AND SAID IF FMG DEL DID NOT TURN UP SHORTLY HIM WOULD HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO POINT OUT WHO IS HOLDING UP TALKS.

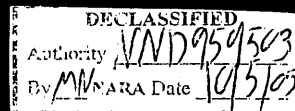
2. SANU SAYS HE HAS WIRED LAGOS URGING THAT SOMEONE BE GOTTEN HERE IMMEDIATELY IF FMG NOT AGAIN TO BE CAUGHT ON SERIOUSLY LOSING END OF PUBLIC RELATIONS BATTLE. SANU EXPECTS MESSAGE ARRIVE LAGOS TOMORROW, HOPES FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION SO THAT TALKS COULD STILL BEGIN THIS WEEK (HIM HOWEVER, BURDENED ALSO BY VISIT TURKISH PRESIDENT DECEMBER 17-20).

3. SANU SAYS COMMUNICATIONS LAGOS JSPLORABLE, ASKED FOR POSSIBLE FUTURE HELP TRANSMITTING MESSAGES. ASSURED HIM

SECRET

32

0602





Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET

PAGE 02 ADDIS 05438 151502Z

WE WOULD DO SO ANTHIME REQUESTED; COULD BE HANDLED IN NIGERIAN CODE IF HE WISHED. IF THIS COMES TO PASS PROPOSE CONSIDER INFORMING ETHIOPIANS WILLINGNESS FACILITATE MESSAGES OTHER SIDE ALSO IF REQUIRED.

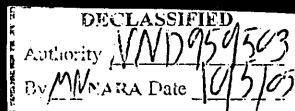
4. AFP ADDIS CORRESPONDENT DE ST. POL INFORMED AMB OF REPORT THAT HOUPHOUET AND BUSIA STILL SEEKING MEANS TAKE TALKS INTO THEIR OWN HANDS AT A WEST AFRICAN LOCATION. SANU SAYS, HOWEVER, BUSIA COMPLETELY NON GRATA TO FMG (AS RESULT CONCERN THAT BUSIA BECOMING INSTRUMENT FOR HOUPHOUET; GHANAIAAN EXPULSION OF NIGERIANS; AND GHANAIAAN EXTENSION REFUGEE STATUS TO BIAFRAN RESIDENS) AND LATTER WILL CONTINUE INSIST ON HIM'S SOLE SPONSORSHIP.

5. MEXICAN AMBASSADOR WHO PAID FAREWELL CALL HIM THIS MORNING REPORTS HIM FED UP WITH UNRELIABILITY AND MIND CHANGING BOTH SIDES. EMPEROR TOLD AMBASSADOR HE THOUGHT BOTH SIDES EQUALLY TO BLAME OVER ALL BUT THAT AT MOMENT FMG LESS RESPONSIBLE THAN BIAFRANS POSSIBLY

BECAUSE OF
INTERNAL STRUGGLE IN MILITARY LEADERSHIP. HIM JOCLARLY COMMENTED THAT HE AT MOMENT THOUGHT BEST SOLUTION WOULD BE TO PUT 200 LEADERS FROM EACH SIDE IN LOCKED CASTLE WITH NO FOOD UNTIL AGREEMENT REACHED. EMPEROR THAN SAID HE HOPED THIS PRESSURE WOULD PRODUCE FMG DELEGATION THIS WEEK AS BIAFRANS HAVE PROMISED REPRESENTATIVES TODAY OR TUESDDAY.
HALL

SECRET

0603



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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 750

PAGE 01 ADDIS 05431 140603Z

20-L-10
ACTION AF-05

INFO OCT-01 SS-20 INR-06 RSR-01 RSC-01 /034 W

036154

P 140515Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO AMEMBASSY NIAMEY PRIORITY
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1789

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 5431

LIMDIS

REF: NIAMEY 1556 *BN*

MESSAGE REFTEL PASSED FONMIN KETEMA THIS AFTER-
NOON. ASSISTANCE WAS GREATLY APPRECIATED.
HALL

*Addis Ababa 5431
12-14-69*

(1)

CONFIDENTIAL

0604

DECLASSIFIED
Authority *VND 950/503*
By *MV* NARA Date *10/3/05*

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA - NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 752

PAGE 01 ADDIS 05430 140558Z

20
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSA-E-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12

AID-28 UCF-05 UPW-01 SR-01 ORM-03 SCS-04 SCA-01 RSR-01

/160 W

036121

R 131315Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1788
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY FREETOWN
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

CONFIDENTIAL ADDIS ABABA 5430

SUBJECT: NIGERIA: IEG AND TELLI COMMENTS PEACE TALKS

1. FONMIN KETEMA AND OAU SEC GEN DIALLO TELLI BOTH CONTINUED HIGHLY OPTIMISTIC IN TALKS WITH AMBASSADOR LAST NIGHT THAT PEACE TALKS WOULD OPEN ADDIS MONDAY DECEMBER 15.

2. ALSO CONFIRMED LIBERIAN VICE PRESIDENT TOLBERT ARRIVING ADDIS TODAY DECEMBER 13 AND THAT SIERRA LEONE MINISTER DEFENSE ARRIVED YESTERDAY WITH MESSAGE FOR HIM. BOTH TOLBERT AND MINDEF SAID TO HAVE BEEN IN TOUCH WITH BIAFRANS PRIOR DEPARTURE FOR ADDIS.

3. TESFAYE MINSTATE MOFA ALSO DISCUSSED TALKS WITH AMBASSADOR, EXPRESSED VIEW THAT ONCE STARTED THEY MIGHT LAST SEVERAL WEEKS OR EVEN MONTHS. ETHIOPIANS WOULD MAKE EVERY EFFORT GET FIGHTING STOPPED BUT THIS WOULD BE SLOW PROCESS AND BITTERNESS AND SUSPICION BOTH SIDES WOULD DRAG

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MM NARA Date 10/5/05



Department of State

TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ADDIS 05430 140558Z

OUT DISCUSSIONS ON PERMANENT SETTLEMENT WHATEVER
RESULTS OF CEASE-FIRE EFFORTS. TESFAYE SAID
DELEGATIONS TO BE HOUSED HILTON AND WABI SHABELLE
HOTELS AND TALKS WILL BE HELD AT JUBILEE PALACE.
HIM WOULD ASK BOTH SIDES REFRAIN FROM PRESS
STATEMENTS AND INTERVIEWS.
HALL

CONFIDENTIAL

0606

DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 950503
By	MN NARA Date 10/3/05

(11)



POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 457

PAGE 01 NIAMEY 01556 130953Z

21 12
ACTION AF-05

INFO OCT-01 SS-20 INR-06 RSP-01 RSC-01 /034 W
..... 033599

O P 130926Z DEC 69 ZFF-1
FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
TO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 610
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

C O N F I D E N T I A L NIAMEY 1556

LIMDIS

REF: ADDIS ABABA 5392

1. OWING ABSENCE PRES. DIORI FROM NIAMEY DEC 12 WAS UNABLE
SEE HIM UNTIL 1000 HOURS DEC 13.

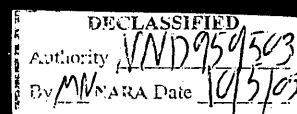
2. PLEASE INFORM HIM THAT DIORI BELIEVES IT PREFERABLE FOR HIM
TO CONDUCT NEGOTIATIONS ALONE, AND WOULD APPRECIATE BEING KEPT
INFORMED DEVELOPMENTS.
ERDOS

*12-13-69
Niamey 1556*

(1)

CONFIDENTIAL

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INDICATE:
☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

POL 27-14 BIAFRA- NIGERIA
 CONFIDENTIAL
 Classification
 Department of State
TELEGRAM

206321

12 DEC 69 00 59z

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA

STATE

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM NEWSOM

REF: Your December 4 letter

As of now, see no problem in your planning to depart for home leave December 23. In light your appointment with HIM and possible developments Nigerian talks, however, will review your scheduled departure end next week.

END

[ROGERS]

DRAFTED BY: *AS*
 AF/E:GRBeyer:sm
 DRAFTING DATE: 12/11/69
 TEL. EXT.: 22274
 APPROVED BY: *AS*
 AF - Mr. Newsom
 CLEARANCES:
 AF/I - Amb. Witman (draft)
 AF/EX - Mr. Bradford *AS*

CONFIDENTIAL
 Classification

FORM DS-322
 4-68

0608

DECLASSIFIED
 Authority: VND 959503
 By: MN NARA Date: 10/3/03

75



POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 281

PAGE 01 GENEVA 04396 121451Z

50
ACTION UCF-05

INFO OCT-01 AF-12 EUR-20 IO-13 UPW-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 AID-28 SCS-04 SCA-01 SR-01 ORM-03

RSR-01 /154 W

028436

R 121414Z DEC 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3960
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
USMISSION USUN NY

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 4396

FOR U/CF

SUBJECT: ICRC CHRISTMAS TRUCE PROPOSAL

REF: STATE 205877

1. ICRC (BASSET) INFORMS THAT COMMITTEE HAS NOW SCRAPPED ITS
PLAN APPEAL TO TWO SIDES NIGERIAN CONFLICT TO OBSERVE CHRISTMAS
TRUCE. COMMITTEE APPRECIATES THAT SUCH INITIATIVE MIGHT BEST
COME FROM AFRICANS.

2. BASSET REITERATED, HOWEVER, THAT ICRC IS CONTINUING DEVELOP
AND REFINE ITS OPERATIONAL PLANS FOR MAXIMUM RELIEF EFFORT EVENT
ANY SORT OF BREAK IN SITUATION ENABLES COMMITTEE TO INITIATE
AIRLIFT INTO BIAFRAN ENCLAVE.
RIMESTAD

CONFIDENTIAL

0609

DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND959503
By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05

GENEVA-4396
15-1869



POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State

TELEGRAM

SECRET 405

PAGE 01 ADDIS 05420 121646Z

52 41
ACTION AF-05

INFO OCT-01 INR-06 SS-20 SSO-00 RSR-01 RSC-01 CCO-00 /034 W
029133

O 121605Z DEC 69 ZFF-3
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO AMEMBASSY FREETOWN IMMEDIATE
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1781
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

SECRET ADDIS ABABA 5420

LIMDIS:

1. IEG FONMIN REQUESTS FOLLOWING MESSAGE BE CONVEYED
PRIMIN STEVENS UTMOST URGENCY:

"AFTER THOROUGH DISCUSSION WITH HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY FOLLOWING
IS CONCLUSION:

"ONE PARTIES ALREADY AGREED TO NEGOTIATE WITHOUT ANY
PRECONDITIONS STOP

"TWO THE QUESTION OF RESOLUTION DOES NOT ARISE AT ALL
BECAUSE PARTIES ALREADY AGREED ON NIAMEY AGENDA STOP

"THREE HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY WILL DO UTMOST TO HELP BRING
ABOUT TRUCE IN COURSE OF NEGOTIATIONS STOP

"FOUR DATE OF MEETING CANNOT BE POSTPONED WITHOUT DESTROYING
EFFORT AND CHANCE OF A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT STOP

"FIVE AS REQUESTED AM STANDING BY TO HELP AND KEEP CLOSE
CONTACT WITH YOU STOP

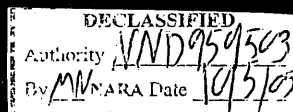
"SIX CONSEQUENTLY DELEGATION MUST LEAVE IMMEDIATELY AND
ARRIVE IN ADDIS NOT LATTER THAN 14TH DECEMBER STOP

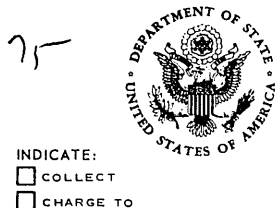
"SEVEN GRATEFUL RECEIVING COMPOSITION OF DELEGATION
AND TIME OF ARRIVAL CARE OF OAU EJKARGBO"
HALL

SECRET

29

0610





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Classification
Department of State
TELEGRAM

POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
205877

11 DEC 69 21 18z

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: USMission GENEVA

INFO: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA

" BERN
" LAGOS
" LONDON
" OTTAWA
" PARIS
" THE HAGUE

USMission USUN NEW YORK

Subj: ICRC Christmas Truce Proposal

Ref: Geneva 4372

Request Mission once more raise question its Christmas truce proposal with ICRC making point that we believe any such initiative would best come from Africans. In our view proposal should be discussed with Emperor and his view sought as to effect any such proposal might have on his current peace-seeking initiative. In view Gowon sensitivity to proposals for coupling negotiations to ceasefire, truce proposal when negotiations in prospect could have unfortunate effect in Addis and Lagos.

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY: AF/SN; GBSherry:ba
DRAFTING DATE: 12/11/69
TEL. EXT.: 23321
APPROVED BY: AF/SN - William H. Brubeck

CLEARANCES

U/CF-Mr. Foley

CONFIDENTIAL
Classification

FORM FS-413
4-68

0611

DECLASSIFIED
Authority: VMD 954503
By: MVA Date: 10/5/05

(5)



Pol 27-14 Biafra - Nigeria

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 261

Case 18793
12/11/69

PAGE 01 PARIS 18793 112043Z

89-84
ACTION UCF-01

INFO OCT-01 SS-20 AF-05 SR-01 PM-03 INR-06 CIAE-00 NSC-10
NSCE-00 DODE-00 L-02 RSR-01 RSC-01 IO-04 EUR-12 /067 W
----- 023756

P R 111950Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9383
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY THEHAGUE
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L PARIS 18793

LIMDIS

(1)

SUBJECT: NIGERIA/BIAFRA -- FRENCH ADVISING BIAFRANS TO PREPARE FOR NEGOTIATIONS

1. SUMMARY EMBOFF REVIEWED WITH QUAI DEPUTY DIRECTOR NON-FRANCOPHONE AFRICA (CARRAUD) DECEMBER 11 GOF VIEWS ON CURRENT SITUATION NIGERIA/BIAFRA. WHILE REITERATING GOF VIEW THAT INITIATIVES TOWARD NEGOTIATIONS MUST COME FROM AFRICANS, CARRAUD SAID GOF NOW DISCREETLY COUNSELLING BIAFRANS "TO PREPARE FOR NEGOTIATIONS" WITH FMG. IN REPLY TO QUERY, HE SAID FRENCH ADVICE TRANSMITTED "IN PART" THROUGH HOUPHOUET AND PARTLY DIRECT TO BIAFRANS (PRESUMABLY IN OWERRI SINCE HE SAID GOF ONLY DISCUSSES RELIEF MATTERS WITH BIAFRAN REPS IN PARIS). END SUMMARY

2. CARRAUD SAID GOF UNABLE ESTIMATE PROSPECTS FOR FMG-BIAFRA MEETING IN ADDIS THIS MONTH. HE REMARKED OJUKWU NOW AWAITING REPLY TO LETTER HE SENT 3-4 DAYS AGO TO HIM THROUGH SIKA STEVENS (SIERRA LEONE) ASKING FOR MORE DETAILS ON PROPOSED TALKS. IN PARTICULAR, OJUKWU REPORTEDLY SEEKING ASSURANCES HIM WILL CONVENE TALKS IN PERSONAL CAPACITY AND NOT UNDER OAU AUSPICES. CARRAUD WAS PLEASED LEARN THAT HIM HAS APPARENTLY SUCCEEDED IN CURBING DIALLO TELLIS ACTIVISM (ADDIS 5370) WHICH HE CONSIDERED

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DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 954503
By MN NARA Date 10/3/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PARIS 18793 112043Z

HOPEFUL SIGN. CARRAUD ALSO MENTIONED IN PASSING GOF UNHAPPINESS AT PLANS PUT FORWARD BY SWISS AND OTHER NEUTRALS WHICH HE JUDGED COULD SERVE ONLY TO HAMPER AFRICAN EFFORTS.

3. ON MILITARY FRONT, CARRAUD SAID GOF INFORMATION INDICATES FMG OFFENSIVE BOGGED DOWN AFTER INITIAL SUCCESSES AND THAT BIAFRANS HAVE RETAKEN SOME TERRITORY IN LAST FEW DAYS. HE REITERATED FRENCH JUDGMENT THAT BOTH SIDES HAVE INTERNAL DIFFICULTIES WHICH AFFECT THEIR ABILITY CARRY ON WAR AND THAT BIAFRANS ARE NOT ALONE IN THIS REGARD. ASKED ABOUT RECENT LE MONDE ARTICLES (BEING POUCHED DEPT AND LAGOS) WHICH SUGGEST NEWLY RELAXED ATMOSPHERE WITHIN BIAFRA, CARRAUD SAID THESE WERE APPARENTLY WRITTEN BEFORE LATEST FEDERAL OFFENSIVE BUT IN ANY EVENT PRESENTED ROSIER PICTURE THAN IS JUSTIFIED BY OTHER INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO GOF.

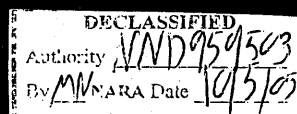
4. EMBOFF GAVE CARRAUD COPY DEPT SPOKESMAN'S STATEMENT DECEMBER 10 (STATE 205176) RE FMG STATEMENT ON ULI. ASKED WHETHER THIS MIGHT HELP INDUCE GREATER BIAFRAN FLEXIBILITY ON RELIEF, CARRAUD SAID BIAFRAN REP PARIS (CHIJI DIKE) STILL TAKING VERY HARD LINE AND BIAFRAN OPPOSITION TO DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS UNDER TERMS ICRC ACCORD WITH FMG EVIDENTLY AS FIRM AS EVER.

5. CARRAUD ALSO MENTIONED EVANS-NOVAK ARTICLE ON CALABAR ROAD (STATE 225126) WHICH CARRIED PARIS HERALD TRIBUNE DECEMBER 11. HE MADE NO COMMENT ON ARTICLE, BUT ACKNOWLEDGED IN SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION THAT MANY OF ITS POINTS ON GENERAL US POLICY SEEMED SERIOUSLY OVERSTATED.

6. COMMENT: CARRAUD'S STATEMENT THAT GOF COUNSELLING BIAFRANS "TO PREPARE FOR NEGOTIATIONS" IS FIRST TIME FRENCH HAVE TOLD US THEY ARE GIVING DIRECT ADVICE TO BIAFRANS ALONG THESE LINES. DESPITE ITS DESIRE TO SEE CONFLICT ENDED, GOF HAS TO DATE BEEN EXTREMELY CAUTIOUS NOT TO EXPOSE FRANCE TO CHARGES OF HAVING "BETRAYED" BIAFRA AND ITS AFRICAN SUPPORTERS (MOST NOTABLY HOUPHOUET) BY WITHDRAWING SUPPORT OR BY PRESSING FOR NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT BEFORE BIAFRANS SEEMED READY FOR IT. INDEED, DEPT WILL RECALL QUAI HAS CONSISTENTLY TOLD US IN PAST THAT TIME NOT RIPE FOR NON-AFRICAN POWERS EXERT INFLUENCE WITH PARTIES TO CONFLICT. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, GOF WILLINGNESS GIVE DIRECT ADVICE TO BIAFRANS -- EVEN THOUGH LIMITED TO SUGGESTION THEY "PREPARE FOR" NEGOTIATIONS -- APPEARS REPRESENT SIGNIFICANT SHIFT IN FRENCH EVALUATION OF NIGERIA/BIAFRA SITUATION. GP-3.
SHRIVER

CONFIDENTIAL

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 766

PAGE 01 ADDIS 05391 111307Z

45-42
ACTION AF-05

INFO OCT-01 SS-20 INR-06 RSR-01 RSC-01 /034 W
----- 021437

O R 111345Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO AMEMBASSY FREETOWN IMMEDIATE
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 1766
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 5391

L I M D I S

FOR AMBASSADOR MINER

HIM THROUGH MOFA REQUESTS IN ABSENCE ETHIOPIAN
DIPLOMATIC MISSION THAT YOU DELIVER FOLLOWING MESSAGE
PERSONALLY TO PRIMIN STEVENS:

BEGIN QUOTE: H.E. MR. SIAKA STEVENS, PRIME MINISTER, FREETOWN
(SIERRA LEONE) EXCELLENCY, I HAVE THE HONOR TO REQUEST
YOUR EXCELLENCY TO CONVEY THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO
COLONEL ODUMEGU OJUKWU:

INNER QUOTE: YOUR EXCELLENCY, FROM COMMUNICATIONS WE HAVE
RECEIVED, IT IS CONFIRMED TO US THAT YOU HAVE DECIDED TO SEND
A DELEGATION TO ADDIS ABABA TO TAKE PART IN THE NEGOTIATIONS
WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS TO RESOLVE THE NIGERIAN CONFLICT
PEACEFULLY. WE WOULD LIKE TO CONFIRM TO YOU THAT THE
NEGOTIATIONS WILL START AS SCHEDULED ON DECEMBER 15, 1969,
AND WE WILL BE HAPPY TO RECEIVE YOUR DELEGATION PRIOR TO
SAID DATE. END INNER QUOTE

PLEASE ACCEPT, YOUR EXCELLENCY, MY HIGHEST
CONSIDERATION. YOUR GOOD FRIEND HAILE SELASSIE I, EMPEROR.

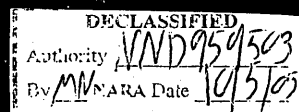
END QUOTE.
HALL

(1)

CONFIDENTIAL

12-11-69
Addis Ababa 5391

0614





POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 990

PAGE 01 ADDIS 05393 111558Z

53 41
ACTION AF-05

INFO OCT-01 SS-20 INR-06 RSR-01 RSC-01 /034 W
----- 022355

R 111410Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1768
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY FREETOWN
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS

S E C R E T ADDIS ABABA 5393

LIMDIS

SUBJECT: NIGERIA TALKS

REF: ADDIS 5391 AND 5392 (NOTAL)

1. TEXT OF MESSAGE US ASKED CONVEY SIERRA LEONE
PRIMIN STEVENS FOR RELAY OJUKWU TODAY INDICATES IT DOUBTFUL
BIAFRANS WILL ARRIVE FOR DECEMBER 15 MEETING. SINCE
ETHIOPIANS AND LOCAL FMG EXPECTED BIAFRANS TO ARRIVE TODAY
REQUEST WE SEND MESSAGE INDICATES FOUL UP IN
COMMUNICATIONS. WE UNDERSTAND OAU CHANNELS PRIMARILY
USED FOR PREVIOUS COMMUNICATIONS.

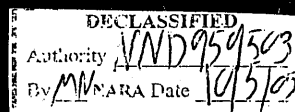
2. REQUEST ABOVE INFO AND FACT WE HANDLING COMMO BE SAFEGUARDED
TO PRESERVE RELATIONS WITH IEG. REQUEST FOR SUCH ASSISTANCE PRE-
SENTED UNDER PRESIDENT NIXON'S OFFER TO BE OF ASSISTANCE IN FACILI-
TATING NEGOTIATIONS.

3. FACT MESSAGE ALSO SENT TO NIAMEY FOR PRESIDENT DIORI THROUGH
US CHANNELS SHOULD ALSO BE SAFEGUARDED.

4. COMMENT: IT NOW APPEARS PROBABLE TALKS WILL NOT BEGIN UNTIL
MIDDLE NEXT WEEK, OR EARLY FOLLOWING WEEK.
HALL

SECRET

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Pol 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 698

PAGE 01 THE HA 04734 111139Z

12
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 UCF-05 UPW-01 AID-28 SR-01 ORM-03
SCS-04 SCA-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 RSR-01

/160 W

021024

P R 110930Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4866
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
C/AMEMBASSY BERN 116
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION GENEVA
USUN NEW YORK 329

C O N F I D E N T I A L THE HAGUE 4734

SUBJ: HAGUE GROUP CHRISTMAS TRUCE INITIATIVE

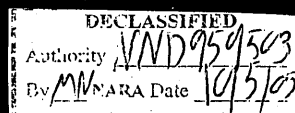
REF: STATE 204932

1. HUYDECOPER TOLD US DEC. 10 THAT SINCE DEC. 5 HAGUE GROUP MEETING DUTCH HAVE HAD FEW FURTHER COMMENTS FROM GROUP MEMBERS AND HAVE NO PLANS AT MOMENT PURSUE TRUCE INITIATIVE. NO GROUP MEMBER HAS YET REQUESTED FURTHER MEETING, BUT HUYDECOPER WOULD BE HAPPY RESPOND QUICKLY TO REQUEST, PARTICULARLY IF IT CAME FROM US, SINCE HE ATTACHES GREAT IMPORTANCE US SUPPORT.

① 2. HE SAID ITALIANS HAVE OFFERED INSTRUCT THEIR AMBASSADOR AT ADDIS APPROACH HIM IF HAGUE GROUP DESIRES. GERMANS FAVOR CAUTIOUS APPROACH TO HIM BY FOREIGN AMBASSADOR. THEY INDICATED PREFERENCE FOR SCANDINAVIAN. DESPITE ACTIVE ROLE AT HAGUE GROUP MEETING, SCANDINAVIANS THEMSELVES HAVE NOT YET OFFERED FURTHER REACTION. NETHS EMBASSY BERN

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 THE HA 04734 111139Z

REPORTED DEC. 10 BEING INFORMED BY SWISS THAT THEY HAVE
ADOPTED WAITING POSTURE.

3. PRESUME DEPT. WILL WISH US TO INFORM DUTCH BEFORE TAKING ANY
FURTHER ACTION ON TRUCE. GP3
BOVEY

CONFIDENTIAL

0617

DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 950503
By	MN NARA Date 10/3/05

(11)



POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 779

PAGE 01 ADDIS 05392 111338Z

42

ACTION AF-05

INFO OCT-01 SS-20 INR-06 RSR-01 RSC-01 /034 W
----- 021555

P R 111245Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO AMEMBASSY NIAMEY PRIORITY
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 1767
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 5392

L I M D I S

FOR CHARGE

HIM THROUGH MOFA REQUESTS IN ABSENCE ETHIOPIAN
DIPLOMATIC MISSION THAT YOU DELIVER FOLLOWING MESSAGE
PERSONALLY TO PRESIDENT DIORI ON HIS BEHALF:

BEGIN QUOTE: H.E. PRESIDENT HAMANI DIORI, PRES. OF THE REPUBLIC
OF NIGER, NIAMEY NIGER FURTHER TO MY COMMUNICATIONS OF
OCTOBER 24, 1969 I HAVE THE PLEASURE TO INFORM YOUR EXCELLENCY
THAT AFTER THE DISCUSSION WHICH THE MISSION I SENT TO LAGOS TO
FINALIZE THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR OPENING NEGOTIATIONS IN ADDIS
ABABA HAS HAD WITH MAJOR GENERAL YAKUBU GOWON AND AFTER
THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS I HAD WITH COLONEL OJUKWU, THE TWO
SIDES HAVE NOW AGREED TO START THE NEGOTIATIONS IN ADDIS ABABA
ON DECEMBER 15, 1969. AS THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL THEREFORE
OPEN IN ADDIS ABABA AS SCHEDULED, I WILL APPRECIATE RECEIVING
YOUR ADVICE AS TO WHETHER I SHOULD CONDUCT THE NEGOTIATIONS
ALONE AS WAS DONE IN NIAMEY IN JULY 1968 AND ADDIS ABABA IN
AUGUST 1968 OR AWAIT YOUR ARRIVAL. AS THE NEGOTIATIONS MUST
NOT BE DELAYED BEYOND DECEMBER 15, 1969 I WILL APPRECIATE
HAVING MOST URGENTLY YOUR VIEW ON THIS MATTER. IF YOUR
EXCELLENCY DECIDES TO FOLLOW THE PRECEDENTS OF PREVIOUS
NEGOTIATIONS OF NIAMEY AND ADDIS ABABA, I WILL KEEP YOU
ADVISED CONTINUOUSLY OF ALL DEVELOPMENTS. PLEASE ACCEPT
MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION AND FRATERNAL ESTEEM. YOUR GOOD
FRIEND HAILE SELASSIE I EMPEROR. END QUOTE.

WALL:

CONFIDENTIAL

33

*Addis Ababa 5392
12-11-69*

0618

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By	MNARA
Date	10/3/05



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INDICATE:
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ACTION: Amembassy THE HAGUE

INFO: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA
" BERN
" LAGOS
" LONDON
" OTTAWA
" PARIS
USMission GENEVA
USUN

Ref: (A) Bern 3684 (B) State 204296 (C) State 203664 (D) Hague 4667

Subj: Hague Group Christmas Truce Initiative

1. Now that Swiss position on "mercy week" clarified (Ref A) Dept.
very interested in any plans Hague Group might be developing for
Christmas truce initiative.

2. Therefore, request Embassy seek ascertain from Huydecoper
whether truce proposal still alive and if so whether and when Dutch
and/or any other Hague Group members planning approach Emperor.

Believe you should not indicate knowledge Swiss intentions should
question Swiss position be raised by Huydecoper. US position remains
as indicated Refs B and C.

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY: AF/SN:GBsherry:ba
DRAFTING DATE: 12/9/69
TEL. EXT.: 23321
APPROVED BY: AF - Ambassador C. Robert Moore

CLEARANCE:

U/CF-Mr. Foley
EUR/FBX - Mr. McNamara
AF/SN-Mr. Brubeck

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FORM DS-322
4-68

0619

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 224

PAGE 01 GENEVA 04372 100935Z

18

ACTION UCF-05

INFO OCT-01 AF-12 EUR-20 IO-13 UPW-01 AID-28 SR-01 ORM-03

SCS-04 SCA-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 RSR-01

/154 W

013958

P R 100915Z DEC 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3938
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
USUN NEW YORK 3928

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 4372

FOR U/CF

SUBJ: ICRC CHRISTMAS TRUCE PROPOSAL

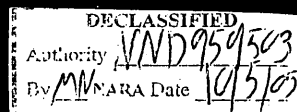
REF: STATE 204296

1. ICRC (BASSET) INFORMS THAT COMMITTEE HAS NOT REPEAT NOT
TAKEN FIRM DECISION TO APPEAL TWO SIDES NIGERIAN CONFLICT
TO OBSERVE WEEK OR TEN DAY CHRISTMAS TRUCE IN AIR OPERATIONS
TO ENABLE MOVEMENT RELIEF SUPPLIES BY DAY AND NIGHT.

2. BASSET SAID PRESIDENT NAVILLE WOULD VERY MUCH LIKE TO
LAUNCH SUCH APPEAL BUT INDICATED HE WILL BE RELUCTANT TO DO
SO IN ABSENCE REASONABLE HOPE THAT IT WOULD WIN ACCEPTANCE
BOTH SIDES. ACCORDING BASSET MATTER WILL BE GIVEN VERY CAREFUL
CONSIDERATION BY COMMITTEE BEFORE DECISION REACHED. ICRC
CURRENTLY AWAITING BIGNANI'S LATEST ASSESSMENT SITUATION

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 04372 100935Z

WHICH EXPECTED SHORTLY.

3. ICRC ACCORDING BASSET IS PROCEEDING HOWEVER WITH DEVELOPMENT OPERATIONAL PLAN FOR MAXIMIZING RELIEF EFFORT IN EVENT TRUCT OCCURS OVER HOLIDAY PERIOD RESULT WHICHEVER APPEAL.

4. BASSE EXPRESSED BELIEF THAT COMMITTEE'S DECISION IN MATTER WOULD BE REACHED PRIOR END CURRENT WEEK AND THAT OPERATIONAL PLAN WOULD ALSO BE COMPLETED BY THIS TIME. PROMISED KEEP MISSION INFORMED ANY SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS.
RIMESTAD

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL 377

PAGE 01 ADDIS 05370 101131Z

17
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 UCF-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20

USIA-12 SCS-04 SCA-01 SR-01 ORM-03 AID-28 RSR-01 /159 W
014487

R 100959Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1753
INFO AMCONSUL ASMARA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 5370

SUBJECT: NIGERIA PEACE TALKS

REF: ADDIS 5368

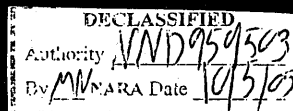
1. OAU SECRETARIAT CHIEF OF INFORMATION ABDENNOUR ABROUS (ALGERIAN) TOLD VOA CORRESPONDENT TODAY HE HAS INSTRUCTIONS DIRECTLY FROM TELL I THAT NO STATEMENTS OR OTHER RELEASES TO BE ISSUED BY OAU IN CONNECTION SCHEDULED NIGERIA PEACE TALKS IN ADDIS. ABROUS SAID CONTROL OF NEWS COMPLETELY IN HANDS IEG (PALACE).

2. COMMENT: MAY BE INDICATION HIM'S TALK WITH TELL I YESTER- DAY HAD FAVORABLE EFFECT.
HALL

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32

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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TELEGRAM

Addis Ababa 5373

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CONFIDENTIAL 510

PAGE 01 ADDIS 05373 101523Z

47

ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 IO-13

AID-28 SR-01 ORM-03 SCS-04 SCA-01 UCF-05 UPW-01 RSR-01

/160 W

015591

P R 101330Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1755
INFO AMCONSUL ASMARA
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 5373

SUBJ: NIGERIA PEACE TALKS

REF: ADDIS 5368

CORRECT SECOND SENTENCE PARA 1 REFTEL TO READ QTE"SAID FELT WISE
KEEP POLITICAL AND HUMANITARIAN INITIATIVES COMPLETELY SEPARATE
SINCE AFRAID NOT DO SO WOULD ENHANCE CHANCE FOR CONFUSION HAMPERING
BOTH SIDES OF EFFORT." UNQTE.
HALL

11

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32

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37



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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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9 DEC 69 18 06Z

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ACTION: AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

INFO: AMEMBASSY PARIS
 AMEMBASSY LONDON
 AMEMBASSY LAGOS
 AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
 AMEMBASSY OSLO

STATE:

REF: Addis Ababa 5353

SUBJECT: Nigeria/Biafra

1. Norwegian Emboff told us of report from their Embassy Abidjan of conversation with unidentified Ivorian official on Nigeria/Biafra. Source alleged Houphouet, with French support, actively engaged in trying persuade Biafrans agree to negotiation looking toward federal or confederal solution. Houphouet has allegedly been consulting with Ahidjo and Mobutu this subject.
2. When opportunity offers for low-key conversation with appropriate Ivorian officials, it would be useful see what you can learn about French-Houphouet activities this subject. You should not refer to information given us by Norwegians. However, you can refer your interest to press stories Lagos and London and announcement by IEG

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23406

APPROVED BY:

AF/SN - Mr. Brubeck

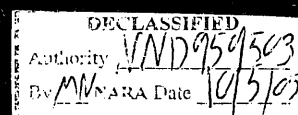
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 4-68

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ACTION: AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN - Page 2

that two parties have agreed to negotiate in Ethiopia next week,
seeking Ivorian views on this development.

End.

ROGERS

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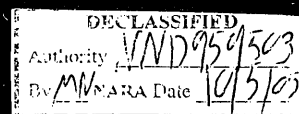
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NIGERIA

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ACTION: USMission GENEVA PRIORITY

INFO: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA
 " BERN
 " LAGOS
 " LONDON
 " OTTAWA
 " PARIS
 " THE HAGUE
 USUN

Ref: State 203664

Subj: ICRC Christmas Truce Proposal

1. According Canadian Embassy here, Naville of ICRC has informed Canadian Fonmin visiting Geneva of ICRC's own plans for Christmas truce appeal. ICRC appeal will call for two sides to observe week or 10 day Christmas truce, in air operations only, so that relief supplies can be moved both by day and night. Timing not decided and will depend, in part, on Bignami assessment likely FMG response although ICRC has apparently taken firm decision issue appeal.
2. Naville aware results December 5 Hague meeting, but prefers have appeal issued by ICRC rather than governments. Appears likely ICRC will issue appeal by end week of December 8. ICRC does not want public support from other governments, which it believes would be

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AF/SN:GBSherry:ba

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AF - Ambassador C. Robert Moore

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U/CF-~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ JWFoley, Jr.

S/PC - Mr. ~~XXXXX~~ Ruser

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 Authority VMD 954563
 By MN NARA Date 10/3/05



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ACTION: GENEVA INFO ADDIS BERN LAGOS LONDON OTTAWA PARIS THE HAGUE
USUN PAGE 2

counter-productive, but expects help if truce accepted. ICRC has not yet devised operating plan for maximizing relief during truce period in view of uncertainties.

3. FYI - In our view, some considerations (reftel) as to African sensibilities and need clear with Emperor apply to ICRC appeal as to Christmas truce proposals of Europeans. END FYI

4. Request Mission, without revealing our source of information, attempt learn details ICRC appeal plans and ascertain how determined

Neville is to issue appeal. ~~Departmental dispatches to ICRC concerning~~
~~the ICRC appeal plan for Christmas truce proposals of Europeans~~

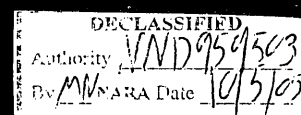
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CONFIDENTIAL 302

PAGE 01 STATE 203664

91
ORIGIN AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 UCF-05 UPW-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 ACDA-18 SR-01 ORM-03 AID-28 /172 R

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DRAFTED BY: AF/SN:RWACH:GBSHERRY/AF:CRMOORE

APPROVED BY: AF/C. ROBERT MOORE

U/CF:MR. FOLEY SUBS S/PC/MR. RUSER EUR/MR. TANGUY SUBS

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R 062140Z DEC 69
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BERN
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 203664

SUBJ: NIGERIA: CHRISTMAS TRUCE

REF: THE HAGUE 4667 ✓

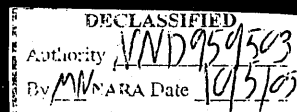
1. IN LIGHT INCONCLUSIVE RESULTS HAGUE GROUP MEETING (REFTEL), DEPARTMENT INTERESTED IN WHETHER SWISS OPPOSITION TO AN APPROACH TO HIM AT THIS TIME ON CHRISTMAS TRUCE RELATES ONLY TO DESIRE NOT TO COMPLICATE ADDIS TALKS BETWEEN FMG AND BIAFRA OR WHETHER THEY SEEK MORE TIME TO PURSUE THEIR OWN INITIATIVES.

2. WE HAVE IMPRESSION THAT SWISS MERCY WEEK TRUCE IDEA (STATE 199738) HAS BEEN DROPPED. IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO KNOW WHY AND WHETHER PLANNED APPROACH TO EMPEROR.

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Per 27-14

0628





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PAGE 02 STATE 203644

(PRESUMABLY BY TITO) HAD IN FACT BEEN MADE. IF SWISS STILL PURSUING TRUCE, EITHER ALONE OR IN COLLABORATION WITH AUSTRIANS AND YUGOSLAVS, IT WOULD BE HELPFUL KNOW THEIR THOUGHTS ON TIMING AND PLAN OF APPROACH TO AVOID ANY UNINTENTIONAL UNDERCUTTING OF THEIR EFFORTS. WITH ABOVE IN MIND AND AS FOLLOW-UP THALMANN-MOORE CONVERSATION WASHINGTON NOVEMBER 28 (STATE 199738) REQUEST YOU ENDEAVOR UP-DATE STATUS OF SWISS TRUCE IDEA WITH GOS, PREFERABLY THALMANN.

3. FYI: IN LIGHT OF RESULTS DISCUSSIONS WITH SWISS, WE INTEND ASK DUTCH WHETHER AND WHEN THEY PLANNING APPROACH HIM EITHER ON OWN OR IN CONCERT WITH OTHER EUROPEANS. IF NO APPROACH TO HIM CONTEMPLATED DEPARTMENT BELIEVES USG, IN CONSULTATION WITH U.K. SHOULD DISCUSS MERITS HOLIDAY TRUCE PROPOSAL WITH HIM AND ASCERTAIN IF HE PREPARED TO ISSUE AN APPEAL WHICH WE AND OTHERS COULD SUPPORT. END FYI.

GP-3
RICHARDSON

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0629

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POL 2714 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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12-9-69
5369

CONFIDENTIAL 421

PAGE 01 ADDIS 05369 091938Z

50 40
ACTION AF-05

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-04 UCF-01 SS-20 PM-03 L-02 INR-06
NSC-10 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 RSR-01 RSC-01 SSO-00
USIE-00 PRS-01 CCO-00 /067 W
----- 010312

O P 091920Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1752
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 5369

L I M D I S

SUBJECT: NIGERIA: ADDIS PEACE TALKS

REF: ADDIS 5368

COUNSELOR NIGERIAN EMBASSY (PROTECT) TOLD US THIS
EVENING NOW DEFINITE ADDIS TALKS WILL BEGIN
DECEMBER 15. BIAFRAN DEL EXPECTED ARRIVE ADDIS
VIA FREETOWN DECEMBER 11; OKWU COMING FROM
TANZANIA. COMPOSITION FMG DEL NOT FULLY KNOWN BUT
EXPECTED INCLUDE PERMSEC FOREIGN AFFAIRS ACCORDING
COUNSELOR. LATTER HIGHLY ELATED, THOUGHT CHANCES
GOOD THAT BIAFRAN WAR-WEARINESS MIGHT LEAD TO MAJOR
BREAKTHROUGH THOUGH DENIED ANY SIGNIFICANT CHANGES
IN MILITARY SITUATION. SAID NO RPT NO CONSIDERA-

TION BEING GIVEN TRUCE INCLUDING CHRISTMAS TRUCE
THIS POINT.
HALL

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29

0630

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64



POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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Adeline Akaka
12-9-69
5368

CONFIDENTIAL 216

PAGE 01 ADDIS 05368 091713Z

50

ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 UCF-05 UPW-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 AID-28 SR-01 ORM-03 SCS-04 SCA-01

RSR-01 /160 W

009450

P R 091605Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1751
INFO AMCONSUL ASMARA
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 5368

SUBJECT: NIGERIA PEACE TALKS

REF: BERN 3684

1. SWISS AMBASSADOR SAID TODAY HE SAW HIM THIS MORNING. HIM CORDIALLY THANKED AMB FOR CALLING AND EXPLAINING PURPOSES AND STATUS SWISS INITIATIVE. SAID FELT NOT WISE ATTEMPT KEEP POLITICAL AND HUMANITARIAN INITIATIVES COMPLETELY SEPARATE SINCE AFRAID THIS WOULD ENHANCE CHANCE FOR CONFUSION HAMPERING BOTH SIDES OF EFFORT. SPOKE OF DEEP HUMANITARIAN CONCERN FOR WELFARE CHILDREN AND PEOPLE OF BIAFRA AS ONE OF MAIN REASONS CONTINUES PERSEVERE PEACE EFFORT. SUGGESTED SWISS DISCUSS THEIR PLANS FULLY WITH FMG IN LAGOS TO MAKE SURE FMG PREPARED AGREE WITH THEIR PROPOSALS BEFORE PUTTING THEM TO BIAFRANS.

2. UK AMB REPORTED HIM ALSO SAW OAU SEC GEN DIALLO TELLI TODAY. IT HIS UNDERSTANDING PURPOSE OF MEETING TO LAY DOWN LAW TO TELLI TO ENSURE HE REMAINS FAR IN BACKGROUND ANY TALKS THAT MATERIALIZE ADDIS. FRENCH AMB SAID TODAY

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CONFIDENTIAL 22

0631

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PAGE 02 ADDIS 05368 091713Z

STILL THINKS TELLI WILL SOMEHOW MANAGE DISRUPT TALKS.
REITERATED CONVICTION OJUKWU WILLING TALK THROUGH HIM
AS MEDIATOR BUT WOULD NOT AGREE DEAL WITH TELLI.

3. IN DIPLOMATIC COMMUNITY TODAY, FRENCH AMB BELIEVES
50-50 CHANCE TALKS WILL MATERIALIZE AND RESULT IN SOMETHING
CONSTRUCTIVE, BRITISH AMB SLIGHTLY MORE OPTIMISTIC 60-40
CHANCE SUCCESS, AND ETHIOPIANS CONTINUE STRONGLY OPTIMISTIC
VIEW OF PROSPECTS. SENEGALESE AMB, HOWEVER, REMAINS
BEARISH ON CHANCES NEGOTIATED PEACE, BELIEVES BRITISH AND
FMG STILL DETERMINED AVOID NEGOTIATIONS IN FAVOR MILITARY
SOLUTION.
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CONFIDENTIAL 884

PAGE 01 BERN 03684 091148Z

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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 UCF-05 UPW-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 AID-28 SR-01 ORM-03 SCS-04 SCA-01

RSR-01 /160 W

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R 091030Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY BERN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2992
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
US MISSION GENEVA 284
US MISSION USUN NEW YORK 22
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

C O N F I D E N T I A L BERN 3684

REF: STATE 203664

SUMMARY: ON THE BASIS OF A YUGOSLAV APPROACH TO HIM,
SWISS HAVE SUSPENDED FURTHER DIRECT INITIATIVES FOR
A MERCY WEEK. SWISS HAVE INSTRUCTED THEIR AMBASSADOR
IN ADDIS TO ASSURE HIM THAT SWISS GOVERNMENT AND ICRC
ARE AT HIM'S DISPOSITION WHENEVER AND HOWEVER HE
WOULD SUGGEST USING THEM TO SUPPORT HIS OWN EFFORTS.
END SUMMARY.

1. THALMANN TOLD US THAT YUGOSLAVS HAD MADE AN
APPROACH IN ADDIS AND ON BASIS THEREOF INFORMED SWISS
THAT THEY WOULD NO LONGER SUPPORT A MERCY WEEK INITIATIVE
SINCE LAGOS WOULD NOT ACCEPT IT.

2. ON THE BASIS OF THIS, SWISS HAVE SUSPENDED EFFORTS

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PAGE 02 BERN 03684 091148Z

AT THIS TIME FOR A MERCY WEEK TRUCE.

3. SWISS AMBASSADOR ADDIS WAS INSTRUCTED FRIDAY, DECEMBER 5, TO SEEK APPOINTMENT WITH HIM AND MAKE FOLLOWING POINTS:

A. SWISS RECOGNIZE PRIMACY OF HIM'S EFFORTS; SWISS EFFORTS ARE DESIGNED SOLELY COMPLEMENT THAT EFFORT AND NOT COMPETE WITH IT;

B. BULK OF HUMANITARIAN AID FOR BOTH SIDES IN CONFLICT HAS COME FROM THE MAJOR COUNTRIES IN THE WEST. REGARDLESS OF ANY AGREEMENT REACHED AT THIS TIME, FURTHER MASSIVE HUMANITARIAN AID FROM THE WEST WILL BE REQUIRED; AND

C. THE SWISS STAND READY TO USE THEIR GOVERNMENT FACILITIES AND THOSE OF THE ICRC IN ANY WAYS WHICH WILL ASSIST HIM'S EFFORTS AND AT A TIME AND MANNER WHICH HIM MIGHT SUGGEST.
DAVIS

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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BERN 3684
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PAGE 01 BERN 03684 091148Z

10
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 UCF-05 UPW-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 AID-28 SR-01 ORM-03 SCS-04 SCA-01

RSR-01 /160 W

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R 091030Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY BERN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2992
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
US MISSION GENEVA 284
US MISSION USUN NEW YORK 22
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

C O N F I D E N T I A L BERN 3684

REF: STATE 203664

SUMMARY: ON THE BASIS OF A YUGOSLAV APPROACH TO HIM, SWISS HAVE SUSPENDED FURTHER DIRECT INITIATIVES FOR A MERCY WEEK. SWISS HAVE INSTRUCTED THEIR AMBASSADOR IN ADDIS TO ASSURE HIM THAT SWISS GOVERNMENT AND ICRC ARE AT HIM'S DISPOSITION WHENEVER AND HOWEVER HE WOULD SUGGEST USING THEM TO SUPPORT HIS OWN EFFORTS. END SUMMARY.

1. THALMANN TOLD US THAT YUGOSLAVS HAD MADE AN APPROACH IN ADDIS AND ON BASIS THEREOF INFORMED SWISS THAT THEY WOULD NO LONGER SUPPORT A MERCY WEEK INITIATIVE SINCE LAGOS WOULD NOT ACCEPT IT.

2. ON THE BASIS OF THIS, SWISS HAVE SUSPENDED EFFORTS

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0635

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By MNARA Date 10/3/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 BERN 03684 091148Z

AT THIS TIME FOR A MERCY WEEK TRUCE.

3. SWISS AMBASSADOR ADDIS WAS INSTRUCTED FRIDAY, DECEMBER 5, TO SEEK APPOINTMENT WITH HIM AND MAKE FOLLOWING POINTS:

A. SWISS RECOGNIZE PRIMACY OF HIM'S EFFORTS;
SWISS EFFORTS ARE DESIGNED SOLELY COMPLEMENT THAT EFFORT
AND NOT COMPETE WITH IT;

B. BULK OF HUMANITARIAN AID FOR BOTH SIDES IN
CONFLICT HAS COME FROM THE MAJOR COUNTRIES IN THE WEST.
REGARDLESS OF ANY AGREEMENT REACHED AT THIS TIME,
FURTHER MASSIVE HUMANITARIAN AID FROM THE WEST WILL
BE REQUIRED; AND

C. THE SWISS STAND READY TO USE THEIR GOVERNMENT
FACILITIES AND THOSE OF THE ICRC IN ANY WAYS WHICH
WILL ASSIST HIM'S EFFORTS AND AT A TIME AND MANNER
WHICH HIM MIGHT SUGGEST.
DAVIS

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By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05

46



POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

12-9-69
10587

CONFIDENTIAL 509

PAGE 01 LAGOS 10587 092111Z

89-82
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 RSR-01 SR-01 ORM-03 AID-28 UCF-05
SCS-04 SCA-01 UPW-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 CCO-00
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10
P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 /148 W

010792

P R 091620Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 321
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 10587

SUBJ: FOLEY'S TALK WITH GOWON

1. DURING HIS TALKS WITH GOWON ON DEC 6, UNDERSECRETARY FOLEY SUGGESTED TO GENERAL GOWON ACCORDING TO UKHICOM TELEGRAMS, "THAT IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IN THE DEBATE IF GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN COULD QUOTE AS CURRENTLY VALID THE VARIOUS ASSURANCES GIVEN BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ON PEACE TALKS, RECONCILIATION, RELIEF, TREATMENT OF REFUGEES, AND THE POSITION OF THE IBOS.

2. "GENERAL GOWON READILY AGREED THAT IT COULD BE SAID PUBLICLY THAT HE HAD ASSURED MR. FOLEY THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT RE-AFFIRMED THE FOLLOWING POINTS:

(A) THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT REMAINED READY TO ENTER INTO MEANINGFUL PEACE NEGOTIATIONS (ANYWHERE AND AT ANYTIME).

(B) THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WAS DEEPLY CONCERNED FOR THE INNOCENT VICTIMS OF THE WAR AND INTENDED TO CONDUCT ITS POLICY IN A SPIRIT OF FORGIVENESS AND RECONCILIATION.

①

CONFIDENTIAL

47

0637

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 10587 092111Z

(C) THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT REMAINED READY TO COOPERATE WITH HUMANITARIAN ORGANIZATIONS TO ENABLE FOOD, MEDICAL SUPPLIES AND OTHER RELIEF MATERIALS TO REACH THOSE IN NEED STILL UNDER SECESSIONIST CONTROL.

(D) GENERAL GOWON WAS DETERMINED THAT ALL NIGERIANS, WHATEVER THEIR STATE OF ORIGIN, SHOULD RECEIVE JUST AND EQUITABLE TREATMENT. THERE WOULD BE NO SECOND-CLASS CITIZENS AND THE IBOS WOULD BE WELCOMED BACK TO THE FOLD. AS STATED AT THE O.A.U. MONROVIA MEETING, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WAS READY TO INCLUDE IN ANY FINAL SETTLEMENT SUCH FURTHER GUARANTEES AS MIGHT BE REQUIRED IN ORDER TO ENSURE FOR ALL CITIZENS, INCLUDING THE IBOS, EQUALITY AND FULL SECURITY FOR THEIR PERSONS AND PROPERTY."
TRUEHEART

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Date	10/3/05



POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 423

PAGE 01 LAGOS 10597 091952Z

53
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12

ACDA-18 UCF-05 AID-28 RSR-01 /168 W 010388

P 091640Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 328
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 10597

SUBJ: HIM'S PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

REF: ADDIS 5353

COMMENTING ON ETHIOPIAN ANNOUNCEMENT (REFTEL), ENAHORO
EXTAFF TOLD DCM TODAY HE CONSIDERS IT UNLIKELY THERE WILL
BE NEGOTIATIONS NEXT WEEK WITH REBELS IN ADDIS. HIS UNDERSTANDING
IS THAT BIAFRANS HAVE NOT YET AGREED TO TALKS. FURTHERMORE, HE
SAID, PRESIDENT OF TURKEY IS MAKING STATE VISIT FROM THE 16TH OR
17TH TO THE 21ST AND HE THINKS IT DOUBTFUL EMPEROR WOULD WANT
NEGOTIATIONS DURING THIS PERIOD. IF HIS IS CASE HE DOES NOT
THINK NEGOTIATIONS POSSIBLE UNTIL AFTER HOLIDAYS.
TRUEHEART

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29

0639

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TELEGRAM

Pol 27-14 Biafra Nigeria

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INDICATE:

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9 DEC 69 22 46Z

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy LONDON
Amembassy OTTAWA
INFO: Amembassy LAGOS

STATE: _____

SUBJ : Nigerian International Observer Force

As part of Depts consideration of various scenarios for Nigerian peace arrangements, would be helpful to have information ~~xx~~ about present International Observer Force operating in Nigeria with FMG concurrence-- particularly Observer Force's terms of reference and operating rules and regulations as they have developed in practice. Request/ ~~addressee~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ posts approach host governments for this information and inform ~~xxxx~~ Dept.

END

[ROGERS]

DRAFTED BY:

AF/SN:HKWalker:bjr

DRAFTING DATE

12/9/69

TEL. EXT.

29311

APPROVED BY:

AF/SN - Mr. Brubeck

CLEARANCES:

EUR/CAN - J. Scott

EUR/BMI - Mr. Cheslaw

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FORM 4-68 DS-322

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By MVA Date 10/3/05



Department of State

TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL 284

PAGE 01 ADDIS 05353 082245Z

83-82
ACTION AF-05

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 SS-20 NSC-10 NSCE-00 SSO-00 CCO-00

USIE-00 PRS-01 P-03 IO-04 L-02 INR-06 CIAE-00 DODE-00

UCF-01 RSR-01 RSC-01 /067 W

004570

O P 082045Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1742
INFO AMEMBASSY BERN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 5353

L I M D I S

SUBJECT: NIGERIA: ADDIS TALKS ANNOUNCED

1. ADDIS RADIO ANNOUNCED THIS AFTERNOON THAT HIM
ARRANGING TALKS BETWEEN NIGERIAN AND BIAFRAN REPRESENTA-
TIVES TO BE HELD IN ADDIS BEGINNING NEXT WEEK. RADIO SAYS
ANNOUNCEMENT MADE BY MINISTRY INFORMATION AFTER REUTERS
DISPATCH DATED LAGOS STATED TALKS TO BE HELD.
GUARDIAN ARTICLE (LONDON 9873) NOT MENTIONED.

2. OAU SEC GEN DIALLO TELLI MADE POINT TO DCM
LATER IN EVENING THAT "LEAK HAD NOT COME FROM TELLI OR
FROM HIM." NOTED THAT OAU AND FMG HAD BEEN READY TO TALK
FOR SOME TIME BUT THAT CONFIRMATION FROM OJUKWU NOT YET
FIRM. (BRIT EMB SOURCE--PROTECT--CLAIMED HOWEVER FIRM
AND FAVORABLE OJUKWU RESPONSE ALREADY RECEIVED AS ALSO
STATED TO AMB BY FONMIN KETEMA -- ADDIS 5277). DIPLOMATIC
CIRCLES ADDIS PASSING RUMOR THAT BRITISH MAY HAVE
TRIGGERED LEAK IN EFFORT TORPEDO TALKS WHICH MIGHT
INTERFERE NIGERIAN OFFENSIVE AND EFFORTS REACH MILITARY
SOLUTION CONFLICT. BRIT EMB SOURCES HERE (PROTECT) ON
OTHER HAND CONJECTURE IF BRITISH IN FACT SOURCE OF LEAK

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By MN NARA Date 10/3/05



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PAGE 02 ADDIS 05353 082245Z

MAY BE MOVE MITIGATE VIRULENT ATTACKS ON GOVERNMENT IN
CURRENT PARLIAMETARY DEBATE.

3- EFFECT OF PUBLICITY ON POSSIBILITY HOLDING
TALKS NOT CLEAR HERE BUT COULD OBVIOUSLY SERVE AS PRETEXT
BIAFRAN REFUSAL PARTICIPATE IF OJUKWU CONSIDERS IN HIS
INTEREST. TELLI SAYS HOWEVER OAU AND IEG PREARING FOR
START TALKS DECEMBER 15.
HALL

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Authority	VND 950503
By	MN NARA Date 10/3/05



POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 567

PAGE 01 ADDIS 05384 110904Z

18 L
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 SS-20 SR-01 PM-05 INR-07 NSC-10 CIAE-00

DODE-00 L-03 RSC-01 RSR-01 UCF-05 PRS-01 /093 W
020319

P R WQQPIQTZ DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1761
INFO AMCONSUL ASMARA
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 5384

SUBJECT: NIGERIA PEACE TALKS

REF: ADDIS 5369

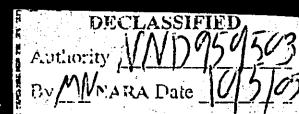
1. FONMIN KETEMA YESTERDAY (DEC 10) RECONFIRMED TO AMBASSADOR TALKS BETWEEN SECOND OR THIRD LEVEL REPRESENTATIVES TWO SIDES NIGERIA CONFLICT SCHEDULED COMMENCE IN ADDIS MONDAY DEC 15 FOR EID HOLIDAYS. IN VIEW HIS CLEAR RELUCTANCE DISCUSS, I DID NOT PRESS HIM FOR FURTHER DETAILS.

2. IDENTITY MEMBERS RESPECTIVE DELEGATIONS NOT KNOWN BUT CURRENT RUMOR IS FMG PERMANENT UNDERSECRETARY FONAFF AND COMMENSURATE COUNTERPART BIAFRAN SIDE.

3. SWEDISH AMBASSADOR YESTERDAY TOLD SAME STORY BY BOTH IEG MOFA MINSTATE TESFAYE GEBRE EGZY AND OAU SEC GEN DIALLO TELLI. THESE SOURCES ALSO TOLD HIM PLAN IS FOR DELEGATIONS BOTH SIDES MEET WITH HIM MORNINGS DEC 15, 16 AND 17. WOULD THEN ADJOURN TALKS TO PERMIT HIM HOST STATE VISIT TURKISH PRESIDENT. IF FIRST SERIES DISCUSSIONS SHOW PROGRESS WOULD PLAN RESUME TALKS DEC 21 WITH INTENT CONTINUE AS LONG AS NEEDED OR USEFUL. PRESUMED UPCOMING LOWER LEVEL TALKS WOULD BE DESIGNED PAVE WAY FOR HIGHER LEVEL TALKS, POSSIBLY TALKS BETWEEN PRINCIPALS, MID-JANUARY.

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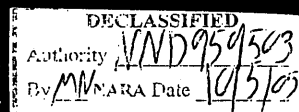
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PAGE 02 ADDIS 05384 110904Z

4. SWEDISH AMB UNDERSTANDS SITE OF TALKS NOW ADDIS RATHER THAN EMPEROR'S PLACE AT KOKA DAM (ADDIS 5277) TO PERMIT HIM PARTICIPATE ALL SESSIONS. DELEGATIONS THEREFORE PROBABLY WILL BE HOUSED SEQUESTERED SECTION HILTON AND ANOTHER ADDIS HOTEL AND TALKS WILL BE HELD AT JUBILEE OR GRAND PALACES. IEG HOPES MAINTAIN RIGID EXCLUSION PRESS AND DIPLOMATIC CORPS FROM ACCESS TO DELEGATIONS OR SITE OF TALKS. WE DOUBT THIS WILL BE POSSIBLE WITH ADDIS SITE.
HALL

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 284

PAGE 01 ADDIS 05353 082245Z

83-82
ACTION AF-05

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 SS-20 NSC-10 NSCE-00 SSO-00 CCO-00

USIE-00 PRS-01 P-03 IO-04 L-02 INR-06 CIAE-00 DODE-00

UCF-01 (RSR-01) RSC-01 /067 W

004570

O P 082045Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1742
INFO AMEMBASSY BERN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 5353

L I M D I S

SUBJECT: NIGERIA: ADDIS TALKS ANNOUNCED

1. ADDIS RADIO ANNOUNCED THIS AFTERNOON THAT HIM
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TIVES TO BE HELD IN ADDIS BEGINNING NEXT WEEK. RADIO SAYS
ANNOUNCEMENT MADE BY MINISTRY INFORMATION AFTER REUTERS
DISPATCH DATED LAGOS STATED TALKS TO BE HELD.
GUARDIAN ARTICLE (LONDON 9873) NOT MENTIONED.

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LATER IN EVENING THAT "LEAK HAD NOT COME FROM TELLI OR
FROM HIM." NOTED THAT OAU AND FMG HAD BEEN READY TO TALK
FOR SOME TIME BUT THAT CONFIRMATION FROM OJUKWU NOT YET
FIRM. (BRIT EMB SOURCE--PROTECT--CLAIMED HOWEVER FIRM
AND FAVORABLE OJUKWU RESPONSE ALREADY RECEIVED AS ALSO
STATED TO AMB BY FONMIN KETEMA -- ADDIS 5277). DIPLOMATIC
CIRCLES ADDIS PASSING RUMOR THAT BRITISH MAY HAVE
TRIGGERED LEAK IN EFFORT TORPEDO TALKS WHICH MIGHT
INTERFERE NIGERIAN OFFENSIVE AND EFFORTS REACH MILITARY
SOLUTION CONFLICT. BRIT EMB SOURCES HERE (PROTECT) ON
OTHER HAND CONJECTURE IF BRITISH IN FACT SOURCE OF LEAK:

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Authority VND 950503
By MN/ARA Date 10/3/05



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PAGE 02 ADDIS 05353 082245Z

MAY BE MOVE MITIGATE VIRULENT ATTACKS ON GOVERNMENT IN
CURRENT PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE.

3. EFFECT OF PUBLICITY ON POSSIBILITY HOLDING
TALKS NOT CLEAR HERE BUT COULD OBVIOUSLY SERVE AS PRETEXT
BIAFRAN REFUSAL PARTICIPATE IF OJUKWU CONSIDERS IN HIS
INTEREST. TELLI SAYS HOWEVER OAU AND IEG PREARING FOR
START TALKS DECEMBER 15.
HALL

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By	MN NARA Date 10/3/05



Pol 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LONDON 09912 081901Z

50
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 UCF-05 SCSE-00 SCA-01 AID-28 SR-01

ORM-03 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00

NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 UPW-01 RSR-01

/156 W

003563

R 08IPWZ DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4639
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION GENEVA

UNCLAS LONDON 9912

SUBJECT: NIGERIA/BIAFRA

1. SIR LOUIS MBANEFO IS QUOTED IN DEC 8 GUARDIAN AS SAYING BIAFRA IS "NOT INSISTING ON SOVEREIGNTY" BUT WANTS A CLEAR DEFINITION OF "ONE NIGERIA" BEFORE ACCEPTING THIS IDEA.

2. STORY WRITTEN LONDON AND IS ACCREDITED TO A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT WHOM GUARDIAN RELUCTANT IDENTIFY. MBANEFO IS QUOTED AS ASKING: "DOES ONE NIGERIA MEAN A MILITARY DICTATORSHIP? DOES IT MEAN A FEDERATION? DOES IT MEAN GEN. GOWON AS A LEADER OR DOES IT MEAN A LOOSE CONFEDERATION?" OJUKWU ALSO QUOTED: "WE ARE WILLING TO OFFER CERTAIN SOVEREIGN ATTRIBUTES OF OURS IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE PEACE AND GOOD NEIGHBORLINESS."

① LET'S GO TO THE CONFERENCE TABLE FEELING FREE AND GIVING AND TAKING TO FIND ACCOMMODATION FOR BOTH SIDES. THERE IS A WIDE SPECTRUM OF THINGS WHICH CAN BE THROWN IN THE INTERESTS OF PEACE."

3. STORY ADDS THAT FMG OFFENSIVE WHICH WAS LAUNCHED MORE THAN 6 WEEKS AGO WAS BROUGHT TO A HALT AFTER ADVANCING FEW MILES AND SITUATION HAS REMAINED STATIC SINCE. WRITER

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By	MN NARA Date 10/3/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LONDON 09912 081901Z

SAYS HE STAYED IN BIAFRA FOR THREE MONTHS AND SAYS LARGEST
PROBLEM IS NUTRITION COMBINED WITH TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION.
WRITER IS NOT A REGULAR GUARDIAN EMPLOYEE.
ANNENBERG

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By	MN
DATE	10/3/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 302

PAGE 01 STATE 203664

91
ORIGIN AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 UCF-05 UPW-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 ACDA-18 SR-01 ORM-03 AID-28 /172 R

66633

DRAFTED BY: AF/SN:RWACH:GBSHERRY/AF:CRMOORE

APPROVED BY: AF:C. ROBERT MOORE

U/CF:MR. FOLEY SUBS S/PC/MR. RUSER EUR/MR. TANGUY SUBS

128107

R 062140Z DEC 69
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BERN
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 203664

SUBJ: NIGERIA: CHRISTMAS TRUCE

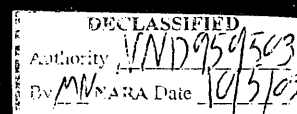
REF: THE HAGUE 4667

1. IN LIGHT INCONCLUSIVE RESULTS HAGUE GROUP MEETING (REFTEL), DEPARTMENT INTERESTED IN WHETHER SWISS OPPOSITION TO AN APPROACH TO HIM AT THIS TIME ON CHRISTMAS TRUCE RELATES ONLY TO DESIRE NOT TO COMPLICATE ADDIS TALKS BETWEEN FMG AND BIAFRA OR WHETHER THEY SEEK MORE TIME TO PURSUE THEIR OWN INITIATIVES.

2. WE HAVE IMPRESSION THAT SWISS MERCY WEEK TRUCE IDEA (STATE 199738) HAS BEEN DROPPED. IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO KNOW WHY AND WHETHER PLANNED APPROACH TO EMPEROR

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 STATE 203664

(PRESUMABLY BY TITO) HAD IN FACT BEEN MADE. IF SWISS STILL PURSUING TRUCE, EITHER ALONE OR IN COLLABORATION WITH AUSTRIANS AND YUGOSLAVS, IT WOULD BE HELPFUL KNOW THEIR THOUGHTS ON TIMING AND PLAN OF APPROACH TO AVOID ANY UNINTENTIONAL UNDERCUTTING OF THEIR EFFORTS. WITH ABOVE IN MIND AND AS FOLLOW-UP THALMANN-MOORE CONVERSATION WASHINGTON NOVEMBER 28 (STATE 199738) REQUEST YOU ENDEAVOR UP-DATE STATUS OF SWISS TRUCE IDEA WITH GOS, PREFERABLY THALMANN.

3. FYI: IN LIGHT OF RESULTS DISCUSSIONS WITH SWISS, WE INTEND ASK DUTCH WHETHER AND WHEN THEY PLANNING APPROACH HIM EITHER ON OWN OR IN CONCERT WITH OTHER EUROPEANS. IF NO APPROACH TO HIM CONTEMPLATED DEPARTMENT BELIEVES USG, IN CONSULTATION WITH U.K. SHOULD DISCUSS MERITS HOLIDAY TRUCE PROPOSAL WITH HIM AND ASCERTAIN IF HE PREPARED TO ISSUE AN APPEAL WHICH WE AND OTHERS COULD SUPPORT. END FYI.

GP-3
RICHARDSON

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DECLASSIFIED
Authority VIND 954563
By MN NARA Date 10/3/05



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, D.C. 20520

18978

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TO : The Acting Secretary
THROUGH: S/S *NEB*
FROM : AF - C. Robert Moore
SUBJECT: Nigeria: Possible Christmas Truce - ACTION
MEMORANDUM

DEC 6 1969

12/6/69

DISCUSSION:

As was the case last year, a number of governments have been discussing the possibility of urging a Christmas truce on both sides in the Nigerian Civil War. Hopefully such a truce would permit a substantial increase in the flow of relief. However, no public calls for such a truce have yet been made. Although the United States itself would wish to be seen to be in favor of a truce, there are serious reasons for moving with care, notwithstanding Congressional or public pressures that may develop.

(3) Last year, the United States and the U.K. privately urged the Emperor of Ethiopia to make a public appeal for a holiday cease fire promising him public support. He duly made an appeal for a seven-day cease fire and public statements in support were issued by President Johnson, the Pope, and various European leaders. However, just before the Emperor's message was made public, the FMG announced a unilateral two-day cease fire. The FMG informed the Emperor that it could not agree to his proposal for an extended cease fire because, in its view, the Biafrans were not sincere in wanting one. The Biafrans announced their own unilateral cease fire for a longer period. While crediting themselves for this action, they did mention the

GROUP 3

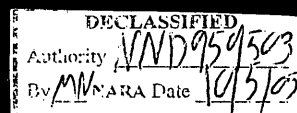
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not automatically declassified.

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Emperor as well as the public, the President, and other European leaders. As a practical matter, the cease fire announcements had little effect and both sides claimed extensive violations. No attempt was made by the Emperor to capitalize on the holiday truce to stimulate negotiations.

This year, there have been several initiatives for a holiday cease fire, in particular on the part of the Swiss Government, and the Hague Group led by the Dutch. The two proposals apparently differ in detail. The Swiss, seeking the cooperation of the Austrians and Yugoslavians, are working on a "Mercy Week" truce proposal and have broached the idea to the FMG which indicated that any initiative should be deferred pending the outcome of the current ICRC-FMG daylight flight negotiations. We do not yet know if their intended approach to the Emperor has materialized.

On December 5, the Hague Group and the Swiss held an inconclusive meeting on the question of a Christmas truce. The Swiss, Canadians, and Austrians, insisted that nothing should be done now as any initiative on a Christmas truce might damage the prospects for "other" talks. The Dutch, Germans, Danes, Swedes and Norwegians supported a cautious approach to the Emperor. The issue is now to be referred back to governments with no indication as to when another meeting might be held. While these discussions of a possible Christmas truce have been going on, a plethora of other peace-seeking or relief initiatives are proceeding. British emissaries are en route to Nigeria and to Biafra. A Canadian mission is going to Lagos on Tuesday to pursue a new relief initiative. ICRC talks with the FMG on daylight flights continue. Perhaps most importantly, the Emperor has apparently secured the agreement of both sides to come to Addis for second-level talks around December 15 and he is proceeding with arrangements for the meeting.

Our main concern is that any Christmas truce initiative not prejudice the Emperor's efforts. He has already expressed concern to us over ill-timed suggestions by non-Africans which complicate his task. The atmosphere of the Addis talks themselves might well determine the

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By	MNARA
Date	10/3/05

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feasibility of a truce. We therefore informed the Hague Group that we strongly believed any truce appeal made by them should be coordinated and perhaps even sponsored by the Emperor. Any truce initiative is likely to be harmful unless it at least has the blessing of the Africans and it has most chance of success if it takes the form of an African initiative.

In addition to our concern over the many simultaneous efforts underway at this time, there is the further factor of a current FMG offensive. Should the offensive, which appears to be making some progress, develop satisfactorily from the FMG point of view, the likelihood of a favorable Federal response to any Christmas truce proposals would probably be considerably lessened.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. For the immediate present, the United States should refrain from any public statements regarding a Christmas truce while we clarify Swiss and Hague Group intentions.

Approve sw Disapprove DEC 1 0 1969

2. If the Europeans decide to approach the Emperor, we should offer him public Presidential support for any appeal he might choose to make or might consider desirable. If the Europeans decide not to approach the Emperor fairly soon, the United States, in consultation with the U.K., should do so to ascertain (a) whether he feels a holiday truce proposal would be prejudicial to the projected Addis talks and (b) whether he is prepared this year to issue an appeal. We would indicate once again that we are prepared to support him.

Approve sw

DEC 1 0 1969

Disapprove _____

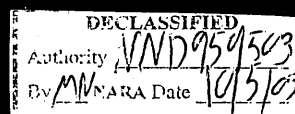
Attachment: STATE 203664

AF/SN:GBSherry:dal 12-6-69 Ext. 23321

Clearance: S/PC - Mr. Ruser (substance)
U/CF - Mr. Foley

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State

203664

TELEGRAM

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INDICATE:
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ACTION: Amembassy BERN

INFO: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA
Amembassy LAGOS
Amembassy LONDON
Amembassy OTTAWA
Amembassy PARIS
Amembassy THE HAGUE
USMission GENEVA
USUN

STATE _____

SUBJECT: Nigeria: Christmas Truce

REF THE HAGUE 4667

1. In light inconclusive results Hague Group meeting (reftel), Department interested in whether Swiss opposition to an approach to HIM at this time on Christmas truce relates only to desire not to complicate Addis talks between FMG and Biafra or whether they seek more time to pursue their own initiatives.

2. We have impression that Swiss Mercy Week truce idea

(State 199738) has been dropped. It would be helpful _

AF/SN:RWach:CBSherry:
AF:CRMoor:dal

DRAFTING DATE
12-6-69

TEL. EXT.
23321

APPROVED BY:
AF - C. Robert Moore

CLEARANCES:

U/CF - Mr. Foley (substance)
S/PC - Mr. Ruser
EUR - Mr. Tanguy (substance)

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to know why and whether planned approach to Emperor (presumably by Tito) had in fact been made. If Swiss still pursuing truce, either alone or in collaboration with Austrians and Yugoslavs, it would be helpful know their thoughts on timing and plan of approach to avoid any unintentional undercutting of their efforts. With above in mind and as follow-up Thalmann-Moore conversation Washington November 28 (State 199738) request you endeavor up-date status of Swiss truce idea with GOS, preferably Thalmann.

3. FYI: In light of results discussions with Swiss, we intend ask Dutch whether and when they planning approach HIM either on own or in concert with other Europeans. If no approach to HIM contemplated Department believes USG, in consultation with U.K., should discuss merits holiday truce proposal with HIM and

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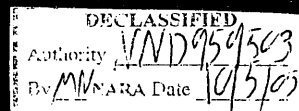
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	ascertain if he prepared to issue an appeal which we and others could support. END FYI. GP-3 END RICHARDSON		
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PAGE 01 THE HA 04667 061245Z

45
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 UCF-05 UPW-01 AID-28 ACDA-18
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10
P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 SR-01 ORM-03 RSR-01
/173 W

126783

R 061100Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4844
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
RUFHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 1169
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

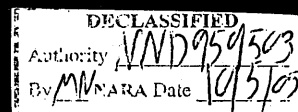
C O N F I D E N T I A L THE HAGUE 4667

SUBJ: NIGERIA RELIEF--HAGUE GROUP MEETING ON CHRISTMAS TRUCE

1. SUMMARY: AT DUTCH INITIATIVE, HAGUE GROUP MET HERE DEC. 5
AT EMBASSY LEVEL TO DISCUSS POSSIBLE INITIATIVE ON RELIEF-ORIENTED
CHRISTMAS TRUCE. SHARP DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THOSE WHO THOUGHT
HAGUE GROUP SHOULD DO NOTHING NOW AND THOSE WHO FAVORED RAISING
SUBJECT WITH EMPEROR WAS NOT RESOLVED. ISSUE TO BE REFERRED
BACK TO CAPITALS, WITH NO FIRM DATE SET FOR NEXT MEETING.

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PAGE 02 THE HA 04667 061245Z

END SUMMARY.

2. MODALITIES OF SUCH RELIEF EFFORT GOT SCANT ATTENTION, AS ARGUMENT QUICKLY DEVELOPED AS TO WHETHER ANY PROPOSAL BY GROUP WISE AT THIS TIME. SWISS, CANADIAN, AND AUSTRIAN INSISTED GROUP SHOULD DO NOTHING NOW, SINCE ANY INITIATIVE LIKELY BE SEEN AS POLITICAL AND MIGHT DAMAGE PROSPECTS OF OTHER TALKS. DUTCH, GERMAN, DANE, SWED, AND NORWEGIAN (LATTER 3 HAD JOINT POSITION) ALL SUPPORTED CAUTIOUS APPROACH TO EMPEROR. OUR INSTRUCTION (STATE 201701, 201269) IN EFFECT PLACED US SOMEWHERE IN MIDDLE. WE ALSO DREW ON MATERIAL IN CA-6383.

3. CANADIAN TOOK HARDEST LINE, I.E., ABSOLUTE REFUSAL BE INVOLVED IN DEMARCHE OF ANY VARIETY. SWISS AND AUSTRIAN TOGETHER ARGUED THAT GROUP SHOULD DO NOTHING FOR NEXT 7-10 DAYS WHEN MORE MIGHT BE KNOWN ABOUT "TALKS NOWUNDERWAYS." THEY DID NOT CLARIFY WHAT TALKS THEY HAD IN MIND (MADE NO REFERENCE TO THEIR OWN RECENT EFFORTS); OTHERS SEEMED ASSUME THIS WAS REFERENCE TO EMPEROR'S EFFORTS IN ADDIS. NORWEGIAN, SPEAKING ALSO FOR SWED AND DANE, ARGUED (A) FOR HAGUE GROUP INITIATIVE VIA EMPEROR WHICH WOULD BE LIMITED TO HUMANITARIAN EFFORT INCREASE RELIEF FLOW AND (B) FOR EFFORT REDUCE TO MINIMUM GREATER ADVANTAGE TO BIAFRA INHERENT IN ANY TRUCE. SWED ADDED USEFUL INCLUDE BRITISH. SAID SCANDINAVIANS FAVORED ICRC INITIATIVE SEEK AGREEMENT ON SPECIAL RELIEF FLIGHTS AS BEST APPROACH TOWARD INCREASING RELIEF FLOW DURING A TRUCE. GERMAN FAVORED TRUCE CALL FIRST BY EMPEROR AND SECONDARILY BY ICRC AND/OR VATICAN, WITH SUBSEQUENT SUPPORT BY INDIVIDUAL GOVTS. (NOT GROUP) IN LAGOS. IRISH AMB. ARGUED TRUCE PROPOSAL SHOULD COME FROM AFRICANS, IDEALLY EMPEROR, AND OFFERED EVENTUAL IRISH APPROACH TO BRITISH AND FRENCH RE GUARANTEE OF TRUCE. ITALIAN SAID TRUCE EFFORT WORTHWHILE, AND FAVORED LONGEST POSSIBLE SPECIFIC PERIOD. BELGIAN AND FINN SAID NOTHING.

4. CHAIRMAN (HYDECOPER), BACKED BY SCANDINAVIANS AND GERMAN, SOUGHT COMPROMISE AGREEMENT ON CAUTIOUS APPROACH TO EMPEROR BY ONE OR MORE MEMBERS OF GROUP TO ASK HIS INTENTIONS RE TRUCE AND ASK IF GROUP MIGHT BE HELPFUL, WITH GROUP MEANWHILE DISCUSSING MODALITIES OF SPECIAL RELIEF EFFORT.

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PAGE 03 THE HA 04667 061245Z

DURING A TRUCE. WHEN SWISS, AUSTRIAN, AND CANADIAN REFUSED
BUDGE, NORWEGIAN STATED WOULD HAVE TO CONSULT HIS GOVT.,
AND IT LEFT THAT OTHERS WOULD DO SAME. NO DATE SET FOR NEXT
MEETING, BUT UNLESS SCANDINAVIANS CALL FOR ONE SOONER IT
DOUBTFUL GROUP WILL MEET AGAIN UNTIL REPORT AVAILABLE ON
TALKS IN ADDIS WHICH REPORTEDLY START ONLY ON DEC. 15.

5. IN ASIDE, SWEDE TOOK DUTCH TO TASK FOR REPORTED STATEMENT
BY LUNS IN BRUSSELS DEC. 5 THAT HE HAD UNDER CONSIDERATION
NEW AIRBRIDGE TO BIAFRA, TO WHICH DUTCH WOULD CONTRIBUTE
PLANES, AND HAD DISCUSSED MATTER WITH STEWART. HUYDECOPER
MADE EFFORT PURSUADE US PRIVATELY THAT NOV. 22 DUTCH DEMARCHE REPORTED

BY EMBASSY LAGOS (LAGOS 10369) HAD BEEN PREMATURE, THAT
NETH. AMB. HAD NOT BEEN INSTRUCTED APPROACH FMG SO SOON.
GP3
BOVEY

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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*Addis Ababa 5313
12-5-69*

CONFIDENTIAL 404

PAGE 01 ADDIS 05313 050824Z

16
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 UCF-05 UPW-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 SCS-04 SCA-01 SR-01 ORM-03 AID-28

RSR-01 /160 W

118274

P 050750Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1715
INFO AMCONSUL ASMARA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 5313

SUBJ: NIGERIA: SWISS PROPOSAL

REF: *PR 27-14 BN*
STATE 201701: STATE 201705:

ASMARA FOR AMB HALL

1. SWISS AMBASSADOR TOLD DCM LAST NIGHT HE HAD RECEIVED NO RPT NO INSTRUCTIONS TALK TO HIM. HE HAD APPARENTLY HAD FULL BRIEFING FROM BERN ON STATE OF PLAY INCLUDING SWISS ATTENDANCE HAGUE GROUP TODAY. PRESUMED HE WOULD HAVE FURTHER WORD SWISS INTENTIONS FOLLOWING HAGUE GROUP MEETING#"

2. AMB AGREED ON IMPORTANCE HUMANITARIAN INITIATIVES NOT INTERFERING WITH EFFORTS TIE DOWN ADDIS PEACE TALKS (DCM EXPLAINED OUR CONCERN THIS REGARD) BUT MADE POINT OF NEED MAINTAINING MOMENTUM RELIEF EFFORTS. HE WITHOUT INSTRUCTIONS ON POSSIBILITY HIM SPONSORED CHRISTMAS TRUCE.
HALL

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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TELEGRAM

Addis Ababa 5332
12-5-69

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PAGE 01 ADDIS 05332 060615Z

16

ACTION AF-18

INFO: OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 AID-28 SR-01 ORM-03 SCS-04 SCA-01

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10

P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 RSR-01 UPW-01 UCF-05

/160 W

125180

P R 051522Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1725
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMCONSUL ASMARA

SECRET ADDIS ABABA 5332

SUBJECT: NIGERIA: ADDIS TALKS

REF: ADDIS 5286 POL 27-14 BN

ASMARA FOR AMBASSADOR HALL

COUNSELOR UK EMBASSY TOLD US TODAY THAT NEITHER HIM NOR
IEG HAD APPROACHED BRITISH TO INFLUENCE FMG PARTICIPATION
PROPOSED ADDIS TALKS. ASSUME IN LIGHT OF THIS AND OF KETEMA'S
EARLIER STATEMENTS (ADDIS 5277 PARA 2) THAT HIM MAY HAVE BEEN
REFERRING TO PREVIOUS GENERAL APPEALS TO BRITISH AND FRENCH TO
USE THEIR INFLUENCE BRING TWO PARTIES TOGETHER.
HALL

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 10495 051633Z

51
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 UCF-05
AID-28 SR-01 ORM-03 ACDA-18 (RSR-01) /172 W
120786

R 051430Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 263
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA UNN
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA UNN
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA UNN
AMEMBASSY LONDON UNN
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA UNN
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY UNN
AMEMBASSY PARIS UNN
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE UNN
USMISSION GENEVA UNN
USMISSION USUN UNN
CINCSRIKE UNN
DIA UNN

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SUBJECT: FMG INSPECTOR GENERAL OF POLICE REAFFIRMS IBOS
WILL BE REINTEGRATED

1. MOST LAGOS PAPERS TODAY PROMINENTLY REPORT STATEMENT BY
FMG COMMISSIONER FOR INTERNAL AFFAIRS INSEPECTOR GENERAL
KAM SELEM, TO EFFECT THAT BIO AND OTHER EASTERN POLICE
MEN NOW IN REBEL AREA WILL BE "REABSORBED AND REINTEGRATED"
INTO NIGERIAN POLICE AT END OF CRISIS. SUCH ASSURANCE SAID
TO HAVE BEEN GIVEN AMERICAN AMBASSADOR DURING COURTESY
CALL DECEMBER 4.

2. COMMENT : PUBLISHED ACCOUNTS OF MINISTERIAL STATEMENTS
DURING COURTESY CALLS IN LAGOS ARE NOT NOTABLE FOR THEIR
ACCURACY. IN THIS CASE HOWEVER, KAM SELEM DID IN FACT

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MAKE THE STATEMENT AND WITH EMPHASIS. IT IS ENCOURAGING THAT
HE CHOSE TO PUBLICIZE THIS PART OF THE CONVERSATION.
EXEMPT.
TRUEHEART.

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Authority	VND 95/503
By	MV NARA
Date	10/3/05



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ACTION: Amembassy THE HAGUE ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ PRIORITY
INFO : Amembassy LAGOS
" LONDON
" ADDIS ABABA
" BELGRADE
" BERN
" PARIS
" ROME
" STOCKHOLM
" VIENNA
USMission GENEVA

Subj: Nigeria: Christmas Truce

Ref: State 201701

1. Following resume of Christmas truce activity last year provided as background for Hague Group meeting.
2. In hopes creating situation during ceasefire leading to negotiations, USG and UK in December 1968 encouraged HIM to make public appeal for holiday ceasefire in Nigeria, taking advantage of coincidence of Christmas and Moslem holiday Id-al-Fitr (December 21, 1968). USG promised HIM public support of US President, and predicted support of Pope, and other heads of state.
3. HIM's appeal for seven-day ceasefire was announced Dec. 20. As promised, USG asked all European and African posts, including Moscow and UN, to seek maximum number of supporting statements. We also]

DRAFTED BY: AF/SN: R. Wach:ba
DRAFTING DATE: 12/4/69
TEL. EXT.: 23410
APPROVED BY: AF/SN - William H. Brubeck

CLEARANCES:

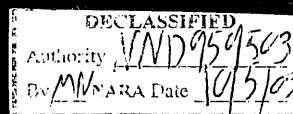
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U/CF-Mr. Foley (sub)

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ACTION: THE HAGUE IMMEDIATE

PAGE 2

expressed strong support for truce idea in Lagos and to Biafran representatives. President Johnson made statement Dec. 21 in support HIM's appeal for seven-day ceasefire and expressed hope that ceasefire might be extended for humanitarian reasons. Various European leaders made similar statements.

4. On Dec 20, just before public announcement of HIM's message to Gowon asking for a holiday ceasefire, FMG announced unilateral two-day ceasefire for Id-al-Fitr and Christmas day. Dept. files do not show FMG public response, if any, to HIM's appeal. Biafran Christmas ceasefire was announced on Dec 23 by Ojukwu to begin midnight Dec. 23 to midnight Jan. 1, one day more than HIM requested. Ojukwu announcement gave credit for ceasefire to Biafra and equal mention to HIM, Pope, President, and others.

5. Ceasefire itself was apparently not successful. FMG forces uncertain whether Id-al-Fitr was Dec. 21 or 23, but offensive actions were ~~reported~~ reported by both sides during entire period anyway. In view failure of ceasefire and political maneuvering which accompanied announcements, no attempt was made by HIM or others to extend or capitalize on it in the interests of negotiations.

RICHARDSON

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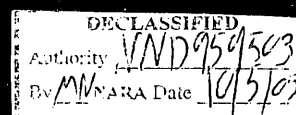
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PAGE 01 LAGDS 10458 041237Z

16
ACTION AF-18

INFD OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 UCF-05 AID-28 CIAE-00 DDRE-00
PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01
PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 RSR-01 /150 W

112373

P 041105Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS:
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIDRITY 245
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIDRITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS:
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE:

CONFIDENTIAL LAGOS 10458

1. UKHICOM INFORMED US MAURICE FDLEY PARLIAMENTARY
UNDERSECRETARY FONDFF ACCOMPAINED BY HIS DEPUTY DONALD
TEBBITS ARRIVING LAGOS TOMORROW DECEMBER 5 RPT 5 FOR TALKS
WITH FMG. VISIT WAS ORIGINALLY PLANNED FOR NEXT WEEK BUT
FMG FOR REASONS AS YET NOT APPARENT ASKED THEM TO COME AT
ONCE.

2. VISIT AT THIS TIME WILL OF COURSE BE HELPFUL TO HMG
IN PARLIAMENTARY FOREIGN AFFAIRS DEBATE SCHEDULED TO
BEGIN DECEMBER 8.
TRUEHEART
GP-3.

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By MVA/NARA Date 10/3/05



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3 Dec 69 23 16z

DISTRIBUTION	
ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS PRIORITY	
INFO : Amembassy ADDIS ABABA " LONDON	
Ref: Addis 5286	
Subj: Nigeria: Attacks on Merchant Shipping and Oil Facilities	
1. British Embassy reported wrap-up message from FCO concerning Biafran air attacks on oil facilities and ships in Nigeria. London "seriously concerned" and has brought matter to attention FMG several times with urgency. Given lack of success of Nigerian air force, light anti-aircraft guns appear only answer but British think Nigerian gunners lack adequate training and capability to solve problem.	
2. British message/ xxxx stated "political implications" preclude any alteration of present UK arms supply policy to increase Nigerian air offensive capability. Biafran raiders thus fairly safe in air and at their bases.	
3. Embassy spokesman asked whether USG had approached FMG on protection of American oil installations and ships and/ what guidance, if any, American oil and/ whether American and given by USG.. shipping firms had been/ advised Dept referred to oil companies and said, since oil companies had not asked us do so approaches to FMG in Lagos/ which seemed satisfactory to FMG Embassy had not approached FMG.	
DRAFTED BY: AF/SN/RJWach:ba	DRAFTING DATE 12/3/69
APPROVED BY: AF/SN - William H. Brubeck	TEL. EXT. 23410
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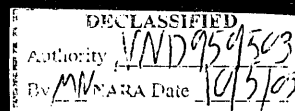
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Page 2

DISTRIBUTION	ACTION: LAGOS PRIORITY INFO LONDON, ADDIS
	<p>4. Re UK query whether USG planning any approach to FMG re protection for American oil companies and ships in Nigeria, Embassy Lagos comments desired. Depts sees no objection to approach to FMG for record. Suggest Embassy consult with UK HICOM re his activities this subject.</p> <p>5. Deptoff informed Embassy rep of HIM's request to UK and France (reftel) to assist HIM's peace talks due to start in Addis Dec. 15. Embassy undertook pass us any information they receive re IEG-UK exchange or any French reaction to Ethiopian approach.</p> <p>END</p> <p>RICHARDSON</p>

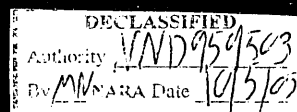
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SECRET 977

PAGE 01 LONDON 09804 031822Z

41
ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CCO-00 /046 W

107768

P 031740Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4561

SECRET LONDON 9804

EXDIS

SUBJECT: NIGERIA/BIAFRA

1. PRESSURE ON HMG TO "DO SOMETHING" ABOUT BIAFRA SEEMS TO BE MOUNTING RAPIDLY IN ADVANCE PARLIAMENTARY FOREIGN POLICY DEBATE SCHEDULED FOR DECEMBER 8-9. JUNIOR MINISTER MAURICE FOLEY (PROTECT) TOLD EMBOFF THAT HMG HAS JUST QUERIED GOWON AS TO WHETHER FMG WOULD ACCEPT FOLEY ON MISSION TO EXPLORE PEACE POSSIBILITIES. FOLEY SAID GOWON REFUSED ON BASIS THAT FMG'S EFFORTS NOW CONCENTRATED ON ADDIS TALKS AND FMG WANTS NOTHING TO DILUTE THAT INITIATIVE. FOLEY SAID PRESSURE SO GREAT WITHIN HMG THAT SECOND REQUEST HAS BEEN SENT VIA HICOMER LESLIE GLASS TO FMG SAYING THAT BRITS WILLING SEND REPRESENTATIVE AT HIGHER LEVEL THAN FOLEY BUT FEEL SOMETHING MUST BE DONE NOW. FOLEY SAID HE EXPECTED REPLY IN NEXT FEW DAYS.

2. FONOFF OFFICIAL-LEVEL CONTACTS HAVE NOT ADVANCED ANY INFORMATION REGARDING ABOVE; HOWEVER, THEY FRANKLY ADMIT HEAVY PRESSURES ON THIS SUBJECT AND ONE PROBABLE RESPONSE IS ANNOUNCEMENT NOW IN PREPARATION THAT HMG IS CONTRIBUTING 100,000 POUNDS STERLING TO BOTH OXFAM AND THE BRITISH COUNCIL OF CHURCHES FOR RELIEF TO NIGERIAN WAR VICTIMS. THIS IS FIRST OFFICIAL BRITISH CONTRIBUTION TO EITHER THESE ORGANIZATIONS FOR THIS CAUSE. HERETOFORE, BRITISH AID HAS BEEN CHanneled THROUGH ICRC AND THE SAVE THE CHILDREN'S FUND.

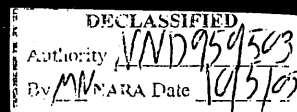
3. ADDITIONAL PRESSURES ON HMG ARE SCHEDULED VISIT TO BIAFRA BY TORY REPRESENTATIVE LORD CARRINGTON, WHO IS TO DEPART LONDON THURSDAY P.M. FOR LIBREVILLE. WILL BE IN BIAFRA DECEMBER 5, 6.

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PAGE 02 LONDON 09804 031822Z

AND 7. THEN TO LAGOS AND LONDON. PURPOSE THIS TRIP HAS BEEN ANNOUNCED AS "FACT FINDING" BUT IT EVIDENT TORIES WOULD LIKE SOME POLITICAL GAIN IF POSSIBLE, IN FORM NEW PEACE OVERTURES.

4. EMBASSY HAS RECEIVED INFORMATION INDICATING TORIES ARE TRYING TO DEVISE SOME FEASIBLE SOUNDING PLAN FOR BIAFRAN RELIEF OPERATION WHICH MIGHT BE PUT FORWARD DURING NEXT WEEK'S DEBATE.

5. FONOFF OFFICIALS SAY ALL PEACE ACTION SEEMS TO BE CONCENTRATED IN ADDIS BUT THEIR HOPES ARE NOT HIGH FOR SUCCESS.
ANNENBERG

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1. **Introduction**
 2. **Background**
 3. **Methodology**
 4. **Results**
 5. **Conclusion**
 6. **References**
 7. **Appendix**
 8. **Index**
 9. **Table of Contents**
 10. **Figure**
 11. **Table**
 12. **Figure**
 13. **Table**
 14. **Figure**
 15. **Table**
 16. **Figure**
 17. **Table**
 18. **Figure**
 19. **Table**
 20. **Figure**
 21. **Table**
 22. **Figure**
 23. **Table**
 24. **Figure**
 25. **Table**
 26. **Figure**
 27. **Table**
 28. **Figure**
 29. **Table**
 30. **Figure**
 31. **Table**
 32. **Figure**
 33. **Table**
 34. **Figure**
 35. **Table**
 36. **Figure**
 37. **Table**
 38. **Figure**
 39. **Table**
 40. **Figure**
 41. **Table**
 42. **Figure**
 43. **Table**
 44. **Figure**
 45. **Table**
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 47. **Table**
 48. **Figure**
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 72. **Figure**
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 93. **Table**
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 95. **Table**
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 254. **Figure**
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 257. **Table**
 258. **Figure**
 259. **Table**
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 261. **Table**
 262. **Figure**
 263

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19
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USIA-12 AID-28 RSR-01 /150 W

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P R 031400Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1698
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS

S E C R E T ADDIS ABABA 5293

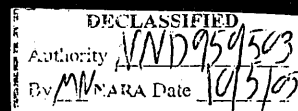
SUBJECT: NIGERIAN TALKS:

1. RSA COMMENTARY TO EAST AFRICA TODAY (DEC 3)
CONSISTED STRONG SUPPORT SWISS-SWEDISH MEDIATOR EFFORT,
CRITICIZED FMG REJECTION, AND ARGUED BIAFRANS ENTITLED
NEUTRAL AND INDEPENDENT CHAIRMAN MEETINGS. CRITICIZED
OAU AS NOT NAUTRAL AND WHILE PAYING PASSING LIP SERVICE
HIM AND IEG CAME DOWN HARD IN SUPPORT MEDIATION BY EUROPEAN
POWER.

2. COMMENT: WE ARE CONCERNED THIS MAY REFLECT BIAFRAN-SOUTH
AFRICAN COLLABORATION TO TORPEDO UPCOMING ADDIS TALKS,
PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT WIDESPREAD RUMORS AMONGST AFRICANS
HERE SOUTH AFRICA BECOMING MAJOR SUPPLIER BIAFRAN ARMS. GOMMEN-
TARY ALSO CALCULATED PRODUCE OAU AND FMG RESPONSE WHICH HARDLY
CONDUCTIVE NECESSARY ATMOSPHERE FOR FULL BIAFRAN PARTICIPATION.
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Chickie Abaka 5295
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19 12
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INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

SECRET ADDIS ABABA 5295

LIMDIS

SUBJ: NIGERIAN TALKS

REF: STATE 200590

1. WILL RAISE POINTS PARA 1-3 WHEN I NEXT SEE GARDINER.
2. OUR TELEGRAM NOT CLEAR. GARDINER VISUALIZED MEDIATOR WITH OFFICES BIAFRA AND FMG WITH SENIOR STAFF BOTH LOCATIONS. THIS SEEMS OF DOUBTFUL "FLYABILITY" WITH FMG AND ON BASIS FERGUSON'S EXPERIENCE WITH BIAFRANS, BUT GARDINER BELIEVES IT ESSENTIAL AS PART OF EDUCATION OF OJUKWU AND OTHER BIAFRANS ON REALITIES THEIR SITUATION.
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PAGE 01 ACCRA 04106 031750Z

50

ACTION AF-18

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USIA-12 UCF-05 SR-01 ORM-03 (RSR-01) /154 W
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R 031635Z DEC 69
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7754
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON

S E C R E T ACCRA 4106

NOFORN

SUBJ: NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR

REF: ACCRA 3962, 3901

1. DURING GENERAL CONVERSATION WITH PM BUSIA DEC 3, ASKED HIM WHETHER GOG EFFORTS AID IN MEDIATION NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR HAVING ANY RESULTS. BUSIA SAID LATEST GOG INITIATIVE WAS HIS LETTER TO EMPEROR TWO WEEKS AGO, OFFERING GHANAIAN GOOD OFFICES. HE HAD HAD NO REPLY.

2. I SUGGESTED EMPEROR AS WELL AS FMG PROBABLY FELT MEDIATION EFFORTS SHOULD REMAIN FIRMLY IN OAU CONTEXT. THEREFORE, ADDIS MORE LIKELY SITE THAN ACCRA FOR ANY MEETING. BUSIA SAID HE THOUGHT THIS CORRECT DESCRIPTION EMPEROR'S AND FMG'S VIEWS, BUT HE DID NOT AGREE WITH THEM.

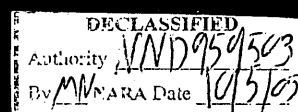
3. IN RESPONSE QUESTION WHETHER HE THINKING IN TERMS BECOMING PERSONALLY INVOLVED IN MEDIATION EFFORTS, E.G., BY ATTENDING MEETING IN ADDIS IF IT TOOK PLACE, HE SAID HE PREPARED DO ANYTHING THAT WOULD BE USEFUL IN ENDING WAR.

① 4. I SAID USG UNDERSTOOD GOG DESIRE AVOID NON-AFRICAN AND

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PAGE 02 ACCRA 04106 031750Z

ESPECIALLY BIG-POWER INVOLVEMENT, BUT, AS I HAS ASSURED
AFRIFA, IF GOG BELIEVED DISCREET EFFORTS ON PART USG HELP-
FUL, WE WOULD BE GLAD CONSIDER ANY SUGGESTIONS GOG CARED TO
MAKE.
MCELHINEY

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PAGE 01 ADDIS 05286 031130Z

19

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 SS-20 PM-05 NSC-10 CIAE-00 INR-07

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S E C R E T ADDIS ABABA 5286

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR

REF: STATE 197574 POL 27-14 B N

1. I CONVEYED PRESIDENT NIXON'S MESSAGE TO HIM THIS MORNING (DEC 3). MINPALACE ALSO PRESENT.

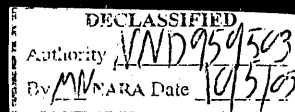
2. HIM EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR MESSAGE AND SAID HE HAD KNOWN HE COULD COUNT ON PRESIDENT NIXON'S SUPPORT AND ASSISTANCE, BUT IT WAS GRATIFYING AND HELPFUL TO HAVE THIS REASSURANCE OF THE PRESIDENT'S FRIENDSHIP AND SUPPORT ON EVE OF A NEW EFFORT TO SETTLE NIGERIAN CONFLICT. HIM SAID HE WAS NOT CERTAIN OF OUTCOME OF NEW APPROACH. HE HAD ASKED BOTH BRITISH AND FRENCH GOVERNMENTS TO EXERCISE THEIR INFLUENCE ON NIGERIA AND BIAFRA TO COME TO CONFERENCE TABLE AND TO SEEK COMPROMISE SOLUTION TO THEIR TROUBLES. BOTH HAD PROMISED TO HELP BUT HE NOT CERTAIN HOW FAR THEIR REPRESENTATIONS HAD GONE. ALSO HE WAS CONCERNED AND PUZZLED BY SOVIET ATTITUDE AND ROLE. IN ANY CASE HE INTENDED PERSEVERE IN PEACE EFFORT.

3. HE THEN COMMENTED THAT OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE FREQUENTLY BY WELL MEANING PERSONS AND GOVERNMENTS HAD GREATLY HINDERED SEARCH FOR PEACE IN NIGERIA. HE DID NOT INCLUDE UNITED STATES AMONG THESE COUNTRIES; OUR ACTION HAD BEEN HELPFUL AND WE HAD KEPT HIM INFORMED OF ANY INITIATIVES WE WERE CONSIDERING. HE HAD IN MIND OTHER COUNTRIES

WHICH DID NOT UNDERSTAND AFRICA AND AFRICANS AS WELL AND WHO FREQUENTLY

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PAGE 02 ADDIS 05286 031130Z

BY ILL TIMING AND INEPT SUGGESTIONS GREATLY COMPLICATED HIS TASK AND THAT OF OTHER AFRICAN LEADERS SEEKING A SETTLEMENT IN NIGERIA. HIM SAID HE WOULD SEE THAT WE WERE KEPT INFORMED OF ANY SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS IN IMPENDING TALKS.

4. AFTER THANKING ME AGAIN FOR BRINGING THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE AND ASKING THAT I EXPRESS HIS HEARTFELT APPRECIATION FOR THE PRESIDENT'S SUPPORT, HIM TURNED CONVERSATION TO OTHER SUBJECTS SEPARATELY REPORTED.
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STATE

SUBJECT: Nigeria/Biafra Christmas Truce

REF: (A) The Hague 4580, (B) State 199172 (Notal)

1. Dept wants Emb representative attend Hague Group meeting Dec 5 as observer. At talks, you should encourage parties to coordinate with other efforts for Christmas truce and to work through appropriate African leaders who are friends of FMG and Biafra. We particularly feel gaining cooperation of Emperor highly desirable as was noted previously. Also, in discussions it should be emphasized that ironclad guarantee on arms supply will

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STATE: _____

SUBJ : Nigeria: Swiss Statement

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

1. Swiss Embassy Washington informed Dept that Swiss Government released statement Dec. 3 on current Swiss involvement in Nigerian peace efforts. Copy of statement not available but in general terms statement revealed that Swiss interested in humanitarian not political aspects of situation. Negotiations regarding humanitarian assistance were necessarily confidential, statement said, but discussions had already been held with FMG.
2. Embassy spokesman/~~said~~ Swiss mediation hopes on

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	<p>political side have been shelved. Yugoslavs backed entirely out of picture and wish no part, Swedes agreed cooperate in Swiss mediation efforts only if matter clearly and completely non-political. Austria agreed support Swiss initiative.</p> <p>3. Swiss conversations in Lagos referred to in state-ment concerned "mercy week" truce. FMG promised take suggestion under advisement but requested postponement of further talks until after ICRC-FMG daylight flight negotiations.</p> <p>4. Swiss truce proposal is not same as Hague Group proposal, which Dutch also floated in Lagos and attend got similar reaction. Swiss plan/XXXXXX Hague Group meeting Dec. 5, will consider at that time how relate their initiative to Hague Group's.</p> <p>5. Swiss Embassy spokesman x was advised that we think Swiss should talk to HIM at early point point. Swiss have apparently not done so yet.</p>			
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STATE: _____

SUBJ : Nigeria: Christmas Truce

REF : Addis 5285, State 201269

1. Dept shares concern refel that Addis peace talks torpedoed may be ~~torpedoed~~ by juxtaposition Christmas truce appeal from Europeans. On basis avoiding interference with African efforts, USG hopes any truce appeal will be coordinated with and possibly sponsored by HIM.
2. Europeans should be encouraged consider HIM sponsored Christmas truce such as initiative undertaken last year. On basis approaches by USG and others HIM made public proposal on ^{own} ~~DMT~~ initiative, to which US

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and Europeans then gave public support. In view of the strong military/political significance of truce to both sides, and fragility of negotiations about to begin in Addis, we think truce initiative probably counterproductive unless can be done along these lines or at least with African blessing. BEGIN FYI - We informed both Swiss and Dutch have floated ^{truce} idea in Lagos and FMG has agreed consider but has indicated initiative should be deferred pending outcome current ICRC-FMG daylight flight negotiations. - END FYI

3. Hague Group should be informed of above and ^{advised} ~~asked~~ consult with HIM re further plans for truce.

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Ref: (A) Addis 5258 (B) Addis 5253

Subj: Nigerian Talks

1. Dept. believes it useful, when occasion offers, continue dialogue ~~dialogue~~ with Gardner referring to our interest his earlier remarks to explore his views and interest in whole range of questions relevant to any mediation effort.

2. As basis further conversation, suggest you cite our interest in Gardner's views on Emperor's present peace initiative. We would like to know ~~how~~ ^{how} he thinks Ethiopians should have staffed-out their current initiative so that projected talks would have maximum chance of engaging interest both sides and eventually producing results. What plan of action does he think might work?

3. Dept. also interested in Gardner's evident belief that UN could get involved in problem. It has been our impression that FMG would reject UN mediation and this, coupled with fact that Bunche an American, not to mention SYG's reluctance see UN involved at all, would have

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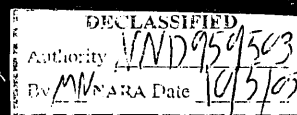
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eliminated UN from consideration. Therefore we would like to know why Gardner thinks UN can play useful role.

4. FYI - Can Embassy ~~xxxxxx~~ throw any further light on what Gardner had in mind when discussing "resident mission located in Biafra" which suggests plural mediator. END FYI

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21
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INFO AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
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AMEMBASSY BERN
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 5285

SUBJECT: CHIRSTMAS TRUCE- NIGERIA

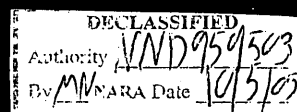
REF: HAGUE 4580

1. IN VIEW TIMING ADDIS: PEACE TALKS WE ARE INCREASINGLY
CONCERNED ABOUT JUXTAPOSITION CHRISTMAS TRUCE: APPEAL. IN
CONTEXT IT WILL BE NEARLY IMPOSSIBLE AVOID MIXING UP TWO
ACTIVITIES AND AFRICANS WILL AGAIN BE LED BELIEVE EUROPEANS HAVE
TORPEDOED OAU EFFORT ACHIEVE PEACE.

2. WE MUST BEAR IN MIND OAU SYG TELLI'S ABILITY CONFUSE
ISSUES ON NIGERIA AS WELL AS OJUKWU'S ABILITY TURN ALMOST
ANY INITIATIVE TO PROPAGANDA ADVANTAGE. CEASEFIRE FOR DURATION
TALKS MAY WELL BE BIAFRAN DEMAND AND CHIRSTMAS CEASE FIRE CALL
WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY BE USED AS PEG SUCH DEMAND. IF BIAFRANS

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 ADDIS 05285 030559Z

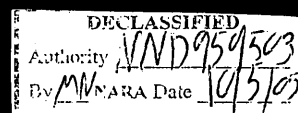
DECIDE WALK OUT OR STONEWALL TALKS: CHRISTMAS TRUCE DEMAND
AFFORDS CONVENIENT EXCUSE.

3. IF EUROPEANS INSIST ON PROCEEDING WE RECOMMEND US
DISASSOCIATE ITSELF FROM APPEAL AND MAKE CLEAR OUR NON-INTER-
FERENCE HIM EFFORT.

4. SHOULD WE CONTINUE OUR ACTIVITY BELIEVE IT ESSENTIAL WE BE
AUTHORIZED BRIEF IEG FULLY ON ACTIVITY TO DATE AND LIMITED OB-
JECTIVE APPEAL.
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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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SECRET 411

PAGE 01 ADDIS 05277 021530Z

52

ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 PM-05 NSC-10 SS-20 RSC-01 INR-07 CIAE-00

DODE-00 UCF-05 L-03 SSO-00 NSCE-00 SR-01 PRS-01 RSR-01

/093 W

100125

P R 021500Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1686
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LONDON

S E C R E T ADDIS ABABA 5277

REF: STATE 197574 (NOTAL); ADDIS 5255 (NOTAL)

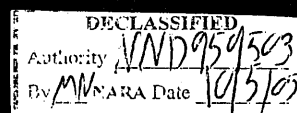
SUBJECT: NIGERIAN TALKS

1. WHEN I SAW FONMIN KETEMA AT ZAMBIAN AMBASSADOR'S DINNER DEC 1 HE APOLOGIZED FOR HIM'S INABILITY SEE ME DUE TO PALACE MEETINGS GOVERNORS OTHERS ON DOMESTIC PROBLEMS AND SOMALIA SUDAN RELATIONS (I NOW HAVE TENTATIVE DATE AUDIENCE DEC 3). KETEMA AND I HAD OPPORTUNITY FOR PRIVATE TALK ON NIGERIA IN COURSE EVENING REPORTED BELOW. IN GENERAL STATEMENT TO GROUP OF AMBASSADORS AT PARTY HOWEVER HE RESTRICTED HIMSELF TO REITERATING HIM'S DETERMINATION PERSEVERE IN GETTING TWO PARTIES TOGETHER AND COMMENTING DIRECTLY TO SWEDISH AMBASSADOR THAT SO FAR EMPEROR'S TASK HAD BEEN GREATLY COMPLICATE BY MEDDLING IN NEGOTIATIONS BY NON-AFRICAN POWERS. GHANIAN, SENEGALESE, AND KENYAN AMBASSADORS JOINED IN WITH REITERATION FAMILIAR LINE NIGERIA AFRICAN PROBLEM TO BE DEALT WITH BY AFRICANS WITHOUT OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE. SWEDISH AMBASSADOR REITERATED HANDS OFF POLICY OF SWEDISH GOVT, BUT NOTED WIDESPREAD CONCERN IN EUROPE AT RELIEF STALEMATE.

2. KETEMA TOLD ME BOTH NIGERIANS AND OJUKWU HAVE AGREED TO SECOND LEVEL TALKS UNDER HIM AEGIS BEGINNING DEC 15. TALKS WILL BE HELD AT EMPEROR'S PALACE OVERLOOKING AWASH VALLEY

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET

PAGE 02 ADDIS 05277 021530Z

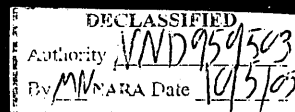
AND KOKA II DAM. PARTICIPANTS WILL BE HOUSED IN PALACE WHICH WILL BE UNDER SECURITY GUARD. PALACE IS WITHIN FEW MILES OF SODERE RESORT WHICH WILL PROVIDE ACCOMMODATION FOR AUXILIARY PERSONNEL, PRESS, ETC. IEG HOPES TO HANDLE TALKS QUIETLY AND WITH MINIMUM PRESS COVERAGE. KETEMA NOTED PRESS AND DIPLOMATIC CORPS INVOLVEMENT WITH TWO DELEGATIONS AT EARLIER ADDIS TALKS HAD CONTRIBUTED GREATLY TO NEGATIVE OUTCOME. TALKS BECAME PROPAGANDA WAR WITH EACH DAYS DISCUSSIONS WIDELY REPRODUCED IN PRESS AND DIPLOMATIC GOSSIP. GOVT PLANS SINGLE PRESS BRIEFING BY HIM'S REPRESENTATIVE AND WILL DISCOURAGE DIPLOMATIC AND PRESS CONTACT WITH DELEGATIONS. HIM HAS DECIDED BEST POINT OF DEPARTURE TALKS IS RETURN TO NIAMEY AGENDA.

3. KETEMA EXPECTS TALKS TO BE PROTRACTED AND MAY NEED TO BE INTERRUPTED OR FOLLOWED UP BY DIRECT VISITS TO LAGOS AND BIAFRA. HE SAID EITHER HE OR MINSTATE TESFAYE RATHER THAN TELLI WOULD UNDERTAKE ANY SUCH DISCUSSIONS. HE NOTED DIRECT DISCUSSIONS IN BIAFRA WOULD REQUIRE CONCURRENCE FMG BUT THAT PRESUMABLY POSSIBLE IF INITIAL TALKS WENT WELL.

4. HE HAS PROMISED ME A REPORT END OF FIRST WEEK OF TALKS AND PROGNOSIS FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS. I BELIEVE IT WILL BE IMPORTANT FOR US TO MAINTAIN SOME DISTANCE FROM TALKS EVEN THOUGH THIS MAY MEAN WE WILL BE OUT OF DAILY DIRECT TOUCH. HALL

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Pol 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

31

CONFIDENTIAL 960

PAGE 01 BELGRA 03777 020836Z

16 10
ACTION AF-05

INFO OCT-01 SS-20 NSCE-00 NSC-10 *CB* RSR-01 RSC-01 EUR-12
UCF-01 SR-01 PM-03 INR-06 CIAE-00 DODE-00 /061 W
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R 020711Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6701
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
USMISSION GENEVA

CONFIDENTIAL BELGRADE 3777

LIMDIS

SUBJ: NIGERIA/BIAFRA

REF: STATE 199249

1. BEST READING WE CAN TAKE IS THAT SWISS PUT UP THEIR MEDIATION AND TRUCE INITIATIVES TO YUGOSLAVS; MET WITH INITIAL AFFIRMATIVE AT TITO'S LEVEL; NOW FIND YUGOSLAVS HAVE BACKED OFF VERY CONSIDERABLY.

① 2. FONOFF SOURCES TELL ME EARLY RESPONSIVENESS STRICTLY CONDITIONED TO TERMS SWISS PROPOSAL, WHICH AS INITIALLY ADVANCED, WAS PREMISED ON "ACCEPTABILITY TO BOTH SIDES." THEY NOW FIND THAT NIGERIA OPPOSES, THAT OTHER AFRICANS PREFER OAU FRAMEWORK TO EFFORTS BY EUROPEAN NEUTRALS; AND THAT SWISS PROPOSALS CUT ACROSS OTHER ACTIVE INITIATIVES. WE CANNOT CONFIRM FORM OF TITO APPROACH TO HIM, BUT FONOFF SENIORS COMPLAIN ABOUT "INADEQUATE STAFFING" INSIDE THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT

CONFIDENTIAL
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Authority *VND 950503*
By *MV* NARA Date *10/3/05*



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 BELGRA 03777 020836Z

(READ -- TITO SHOT FROM THE HIP, AGAIN). AND THEY ARE INTENSELY ANNOYED BY FRANZONI'S TALKATIVENESS. FONOFF'S OVER-PRECISE DISCLAIMER NOV 27 "BIAFRA HAS NOT, REPEAT NOT REQUESTED..." (BELGRADE 3773) REFLECTS THIS REACTION.

3. SWISS AMBASSADOR KELLER PRIVATELY TELLS ME PROBLEM IS THAT SWISS APPROACH IS HUMANITARIAN; YUGOSLAV POLITICAL. HE DOES NOT BELIEVE GAP CAN BE BRIDGED AND EXPECTS LITTLE MORE FROM YUGOSLAWS AT THIS POINT. I THINK THIS PROBABLY RIGHT.

4. ONE OTHER BELGRADE BIT. GHANAIAN AMBASSADOR LOMOTY INFORMED ME SEVERAL AFRICAN COLLEAGUES, AFTER FRANZONI'S REVELATIONS, REMONSTRATED TO FONOFF ON UNDERCUTTING OAU AND AFRICAN INITIATIVES AND FOUND FONOFF "UNDERSTANDING". HE ADDED STRICT CONFIDENCE GHANA AND SIERRA LEONE RECENTLY GAVE UK FONOFF JOINT PROPOSAL FOR NIGERIAN SETTLEMENT. LOMOTY DOES NOT HAVE TEXT BUT HAD BEEN ADVISED LONDON ACTIVELY CONSIDERING. GP-4.
LEONHART

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Authority <i>VND 959503</i>
By <i>MM</i> NARA Date <i>10/3/05</i>



Pol 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State

TELEGRAM

Pol 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria

CONFIDENTIAL 911

PAGE 01 THE HA 04580 011331Z

46
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 10-13 UCF-05 UPH-01 CIAE-00 DOBE-00

PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-09 INBAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 SR-01 ORM-03 AID-28 SCG-04 SCA-01

ACDA-18 RSR-01 178 W

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PER 011235Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4813
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERN
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

CONFIDENTIAL THE HAGUE 4580

SUBJ: NIGERIAN RELIEF --- CHRISTMAS TRUCE

REF: HAGUE 4556, STATE 199172

1. DUTCH HAVE CALLED HAGUE GROUP MEETING (AT EMBASSY LEVEL) FOR
10 A.M. FRIDAY, DEC. 5, IN THE HAGUE TO DISCUSS POSSIBLE
CHRISTMAS TRUCE INITIATIVE. ALL EMBASSIES REQUESTED ATTEND
WITH INSTRUCTIONS. MFA HAS ALREADY INSTRUCTED NETHS EMBASSY
WASHINGTON SEEK IN ADVANCE OF HAGUE GROUP MEETING U.S.
COMMENTS MORE DETAILED THAN THOSE CONTAINED STATED 199172
AND IN PARTICULAR FERGUSSONS PERSONAL REACTION TO OUR
KNOWLEDGE DUTCH HAVE NOT THOUGHT OUT PROPOSAL MUCH BEYOND
WHAT OUTLINED HAGUE 4556.

2. WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL BRIEF MFA IN CONFIDENCE ON SECOND.

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By MN NARA Date 10/3/05



POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**
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PAGE 01 LUSAKA 02811 011627Z

47
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 UPW-01
UCF-05 IO-13 AID-28 SCSE-00 SCA-01 SR-01 ORM-03 RSR-01

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R 011245Z DEC 69
FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4523
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM UNN
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI UNN

UNCLAS LUSAKA 2811

SUBJECT: NAGERIA-BIAFRA

1. AUSTIN OKWU, BIAFRAN ENVOY TO EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICA, REPORTED BY LOCAL PRESS HAVE MADE FOLLOWING COMMENTS AT PRESS CONFERENCE LUSAKA NOVEMBER 28:

A. OAU RESOLUTIONS ON NIGERIAN CONFLICT "UNFAIR AND AGAINST NATURAL JUSTICE." RESOLUTIONS MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR OAU PLAY "RESPONSIBLE AND IMPARTIAL ROLE" IN FINDING SOLUTION. BY PRE-DETERMINING WHAT SHOULD BE OUTCOME OF TALKS OAU WAS MAKING ITSELF "LAUGHING STOCK OF WORLD" AND IT NECESSARY FOR IT TO "CHANGE ITS STEP." OAU SHOULD CALL FOR UNCONDITIONAL RESUMPTION PEACE TALKS IMMEDIATELY.

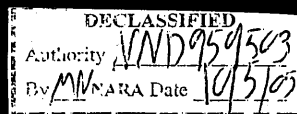
B. BIAFRA PREPARED MEET NIGERIA "AT ANY TIME AND ANY PLACE AGREEABLE BOTH SIDES" WITHOUT ANY PRECONDITIONS. NIGERIA AND BIAFRA ABOUT HER SOVEREIGNTY. "WHATEVER EVOLVES OUT OF FREE TALKS BECOMES SOLUTION TO PROBLEM."

C. BIAFRA WOULD CERTAINLY AGREE MEET NIGERIA UNDER AUSPICES OF IMPARTIAL AND NEUTRAL GOVERNMENTS SUCH AS SWITZERLAND, SWEDEN, AUSTRIA, YUGOSLAVIA.

D. BIAFRA SEEKING INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEE THAT DAYLIGHT

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LUSAKA 02811 011627Z

RELIEF FLIGHTS NOT BE USED AS BLANKET COVER FOR BRITISH AND
NIGERIAN GOVERNMENTS PUT ULI AIRPORT OUT OF OPERATION.
SINCE NO ONE COULD GIVE ASSURANCE OWERI AIR PORT WOULD NOT BE
BOMBED, STARVATION OF BIAFRANS CONTINUED.

E. HMG PRIMIN WILSON "PUTTING OUT RED HERRING" BY
SAYING WAR WAS AFRICAN PROBLEM WHICH SHOULD BE SOLVED BY
AFRICANS. BRITAIN SAYING THIS BECAUSE SHE WANTED SEE IMMEDIATE
VICTORY FOR FMG.
TIENKEN

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